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OF THE
COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE

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A HISTORY
OF THE
COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE
WESTERN AFRICA

BY
J. J. CROOKS

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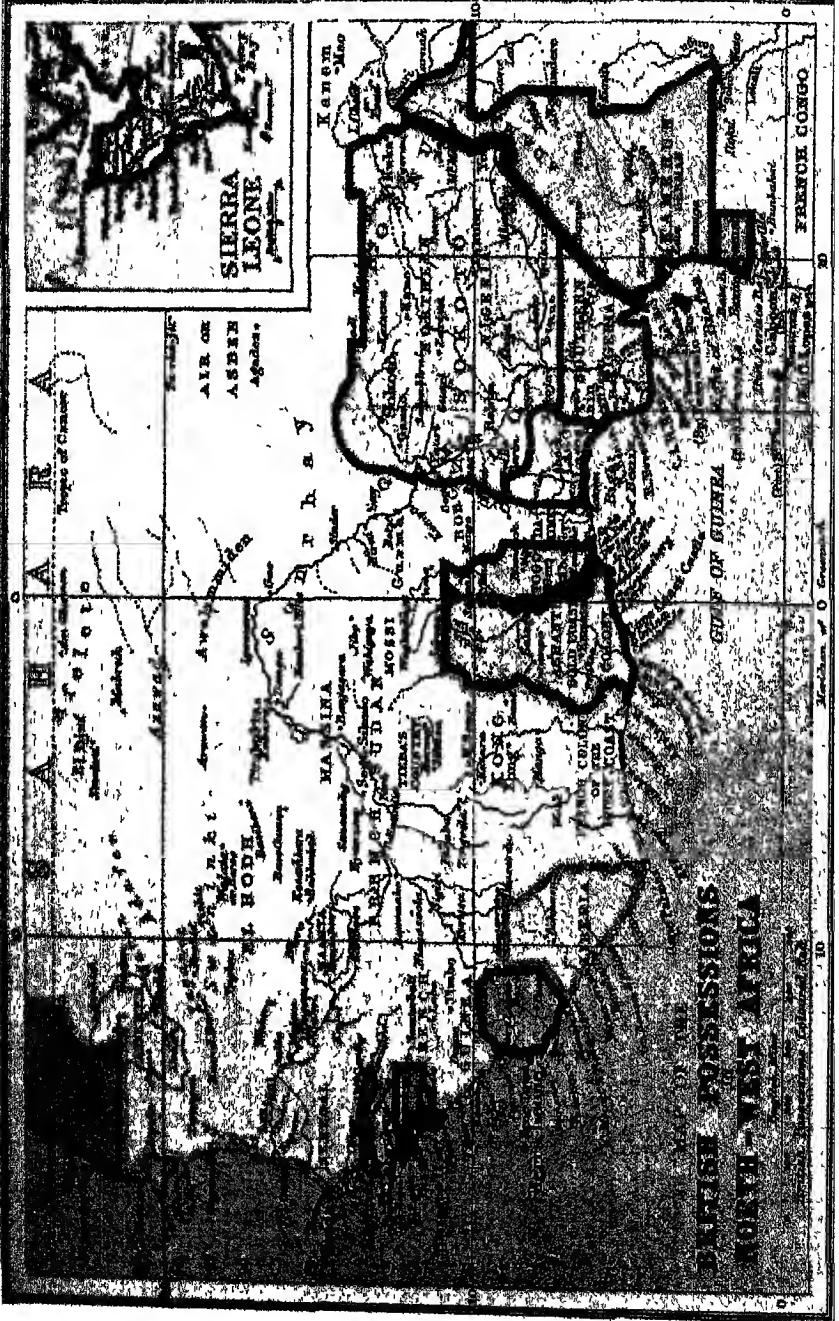
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SIERRA
LEONE

BRITISH POSSESSIONS
NORTH - WEST AFRICA

FRENCH CONGO

A History of The Colony of Sierra Leone Western Africa

With Maps and Appendices

By

J. J. Crooks (Major)

Sometime Colonial Secretary, Sierra Leone

Author of

"A Short History of Sierra Leone"



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PREFACE.

IN the pages of this work, I have endeavoured to place before my readers a History of the Colony of Sierra Leone, prepared from such public documents as are available for the purpose, and from the few works known on the subject by other writers.

At all times the compilation of history must, of necessity, be a difficult task ; but when it has to be prepared from sparse information gathered from many sources, the difficulty is much enhanced.

Thus, though I have recorded nothing but what can be verified, and have endeavoured to treat every question in a fair and just spirit, I am conscious of the imperfections of the work, imperfections which only the future historian can amend after lapse of many years, when information not available to-day will be at his disposal.

Of the early history of the colony, the records are both meagre and widely scattered, rendering their collection a work of considerable difficulty. The State papers of the last seventy years are not yet open to the public, Annual Blue Book returns were first rendered to the Secretary of State in 1829 : the Governor's Reports on these returns appeared very irregularly up to the year 1887, and the latest Blue Book on disturbances

PREFACE

in the Native Territories adjacent to the Colony (excepting those concerning the Hut Tax) is dated June, 1889. These facts will account for many imperfections in the history.

If, therefore, all that might be, has not been said, concerning the history of the Colony, it has not been altogether my fault. Some day, perhaps, the task may be taken up by abler hands, with more perfect results, and this work help to contribute to that end.

Should it do so, and should it for the moment help to interest any who may desire to have a greater knowledge of Sierra Leone than they have at present, I feel I shall not have made the attempt to compile its history entirely in vain.

My grateful acknowledgments and thanks are particularly due to my old friend and brother officer, Commissary H. F. BLISSETT, C.M.G., for the very valuable assistance he has rendered me in the production of this work. From its inception to the last page he has taken the warmest interest in it, and devoted thereto not only his unique knowledge of the subject and sound judgment, but considerable labour as well.

J. J. CROOKS.

Dublin, 1903.

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HISTORY OF SIERRA LEONE.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF SIERRA LEONE, WESTERN AFRICA.

Geographical position of Sierra Leone—West Africa known to the Egyptians and Phoenicians—Carthaginians barter with African people—Voyages of Sataspes and Hanno—Portuguese Exploration—Henry the Navigator and his Captains—Piedro de Cintra reaches Sierra Leone—The Lion Mountains—Portuguese trade with Sierra Leone—English Merchant Adventurers—Windham—Lok Towrson—Hawkins—Drake—Negroes carried off from Sierra Leone—Trading Patents to English Merchants—Finch's voyage to Sierra Leone—Charter to Company of Adventurers—Charter to Second African Company—Charter to Third African Company—Dutch Interference with trade—Tasso Island factory destroyed by de Ruyter—Villault's description of Sierra Leone—Charter to Fourth African Company—Factory established on Bance Island—Barbot's description of Sierra Leone—Royal African Company's report—Factories at Bance Island and Sherbro abandoned—Charter to Fifth African Company—Reports of various travellers—Barbot—Atkins—Smith—Matthews—French factory at Sierra Leone River.

THE Colony of Sierra Leone at this date comprises a coast line extending between $6^{\circ} 55'$ and $9^{\circ} 2'$ north, from the Republic of Liberia, on the south-east, to Kiragba, on the north-east, a distance of about 210 miles.

About midway in the coast line, at the mouth of the river of the same name,* is a block of land twenty-three miles long by fourteen broad, which is the oldest part of the Colony, whilst about one hundred miles south-east of that lies the large and important district of the Sherbro River.

In addition to the coast-line and river banks, our rights over which extend from a quarter to half a mile

* *Vide* note at end of chapter.

from high water mark, acquired to enable us to control the importation of sea-borne goods, we hold the Isles de Los, and the Banana, Turtle, Leopard, Plantain, Yellaboi, Kortimo, Tasso, Macaulay, and other islands.

The adjacent countries to the north and east of Sierra Leone, which form the Protectorate defined in 1895, extend about one hundred and eighty miles inland, and lie between $10^{\circ} 40'$ and $13^{\circ} 20'$ west longitude; the whole area of the Colony being estimated at about thirty thousand square miles—or the size of Ireland.

The history of its discovery, like that of most other African countries, is wrapt in mystery. There is but little doubt that certain portions of the western coasts of Africa were known for hundreds of years before the Christian era, to the Egyptians and Phœnicians. Both these nations had commercial relations with the people occupying the coast line of Africa, but there is no account extant of their journeys. Probably the Phœnicians, who were the great navigators and traders of their time, were best acquainted with the coast of Africa, but the records of their voyages were regarded as great State secrets, and when Tyre and Carthage were conquered, were either destroyed or lost.

However, Herodotus relates how the Carthaginians carried on a trade with the African people beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, with whom they held no personal communication, by a simple system of barter. On landing the traders arranged their goods in heaps on the shore and retired. The natives then came forward and placed the articles they offered in exchange opposite to them and left them there. The Carthaginians then again landed and removed such articles as were accepted, leaving their own goods, or *vice versa*, removing their goods and leaving those belonging to the natives if the offers were inadequate.

The fact that in A.D. 1455, Cado Mosto found that the Moors traded with the Blacks on their borders in precisely the same manner, and that Captain Jobson who made a voyage to the Gambia some two hundred years later found the same system in use, appears to point to the accuracy of Herodotus' account.

That the Phœnicians also sailed round the continent of Africa during a two years' voyage, seems perfectly clear, though Herodotus throws doubt on the very

portion of their account that would prove it to be correct in our days, viz., "that, sailing round Lybia, they had the sun on the right." As the voyages commenced from Egypt by the Arabian Gulf, this would be the case.

The voyage of Sataspes, in the reign of Xerxes, by way of Gibraltar, proves that the ancients considered that Africa could be circumnavigated, as Sataspes, who was under sentence of death, was allowed to attempt the adventure, and had he been successful, would have been reprieved. He failed, however, and suffered death on his return home as a punishment.

The next important voyage was made by command of the Senate of Carthage, and must have occurred some time prior to 480 B.C. It was placed in charge of Hanno, and some account of it is given in the *Periplus* of Hanno, a very imperfect summary made by a Greek at a much later period, which has rendered it impossible to say how far the voyage was carried.

We know, however, that it had for its object the discovery of new outlets for commerce, and that Hanno reached and colonized Cerné (the island of Arguin near Cape Blanco), where the cisterns built by the Carthaginians still exist. From Cerné he sailed south to the River Chrestes, which now seems clearly identified with the Senegal River, for it is here that mention is made of first meeting Negroes; and that river separates them from the Moorish races of the north. Not far away from this was another great river, filled with crocodiles and hippopotami, which must have been the Gambia, as it was infested by these beasts until quite recently. Again pursuing a southerly course he arrived in a large bay with mountains near it, which he called the Western Horn. About the locality of the Western Horn there has been much dispute amongst geographers, but Sir Richard Burton who knew the coast line well, and whose views on such a point are entitled to every respect, was of opinion that the Western Horn with its large bay and mountains, which here rise to a height of two thousand six hundred feet, was clearly identified as Sierra Leone, there being no mountains between Gambia and that place except the Dubreeka Hill, the whole coast lying very low.

It may, therefore, be assumed, that Hanno was the

first known explorer to touch at Sierra Leone, or rather, who arrived in the waters of the port. His stay was limited to one night, for the voyagers were so alarmed at the number of fires on shore (probably bush fires), and the sounds of drums and cymbals, and strange cries which they heard, that they departed in great haste.

We hear nothing more of voyages in this direction until the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese commenced their explorations on the West Coast of Africa, which led to the coast being made known to the whole civilized world. Up to that time European voyagers seem to have known no more, or rather visited no portion of the western coast except the coast of Morocco from Gibraltar to Cape Nun, a distance of about six hundred miles.

It is claimed by the French writers, Villault and Barbot, in the accounts of their voyages to Guinea, 1666 and 1678, respectively, and by Labat in his "Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale," printed in Paris in 1728, that the Normans established commercial relations with Western Africa in the fourteenth century, some merchants of Dieppe trading even as far as Sierra Leone in the year 1364, and that the civil wars in France compelled them to abandon the trade in the fifteenth century. As a proof of this Labat refers to a Deed of Association entered into between the merchants of Dieppe and Rouen to carry on this trade in September, 1365. The account is given from old manuscript annals of Dieppe, the Deed having been burnt in the Fire of 1694. The French claims to priority of discovery are not, however, generally accepted, and the Portuguese deny them. The Portuguese accounts of their voyages in the fifteenth century are undoubtedly the most reliable records of discovery and permanent settlement in Western Africa.

The best-known discoverer of the fifteenth century, however, was Prince Henry of Portugal, the Navigator, fourth son of John I. of Portugal by Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt and sister of Henry IV. of England. This Prince took prisoners some Moors at the capture of Ceuta in 1415, and from their stories learnt of the fertile, and gold and ivory

producing countries beyond the Sahara Desert. They called this territory the "Land of the Blacks," and said it could be reached by land, or sea. As a result several voyages were made, first by Henry himself, and later, under his auspices, by Cado Mosto, Antonio Gongalez, and Nuno Tristan, and at his death in 1463 he had discovered the whole coast from "Cape de Non" to Cape Mesurado.

Sierra Leone was reached in 1462 by Piedro de Cintra, a captain in command of two caravels, sent by the king to discover farther along the coast of the negroes than any ship had done. In the account of this voyage, written by Cado Mosto, he states that Cape Liedo was the next place discovered, and they gave it that name because the beautiful green country about it seemed to smile. The high mountain at the cape covered with lofty green trees they called Sierra Leona, on account of the tremendous roaring of the thunder about the summit of it, which was constantly wrapped up in cloud and mist.*

The caravels then pushed on to Cape Mesurado, where they saw immense fires that had been kindled by the negroes at first sight of the ships. At this place three natives came on board, and one of them was detained, in compliance with the orders of the King of Portugal, that from the remotest country they landed at, should be brought some negroes, in order to obtain from them information about their country. Upon the arrival of this captured negro at Lisbon all that could be learned from him was that there were unicorns in his country, and, after several months stay in Portugal, where he was shown the greatest curiosities of the kingdom, he was sent back to Africa.

The African trade increased to such an extent that, in 1469, the King farmed it to Fernandes Gomez, a citizen of Lisbon, for a period of five years, at two hundred millreis per annum (about £55 sterling), on condition that he should every year discover one hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leone. Gomez was so successful that, in 1471, he traded for gold at Elmina,

* Milton in his *Paradise Lost* speaks of Notus and Afer as "black with thundrous clouds from Serralliona."

and in reward for having improved and extended the Guinea trade, the King, in 1474, created him a noble, and appointed him of his council.

After the visit of Piedro de Cintra in 1462, we hear of no further voyages to Sierra Leone. The Portuguese, doubtless, attracted by the gold-dust and ivory, etc., offered by the natives in the course of trade, seem to have devoted their attention solely to the coast of Guinea, or Gold Coast, and, in common with the French, Danes, Brandenburgers, and Dutch, to have built forts and made small settlements along that coast. That they were the first Europeans to trade with the natives of Sierra Leone is, however, certain, though there is no particular record of a Portuguese settlement there. According to Barbot, Agent-General of the French African Company, who visited Sierra Leone in 1678, the Portuguese settled there about the year 1505, and in the account of Sir John Hawkins's second voyage, in 1565, mention is made of the Portuguese trading in the Sierra Leone river.

English interest in the West Coast of Africa seems to have been aroused about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the English merchant adventurers began to trade along the coast of Guinea, and, with the French, to break up the monopoly which the Portuguese had so far secured in the trade. In 1553 we hear of an expedition under Windham and Pinteado, which was not very successful; in 1554 of another under John Lok, which brought away considerable gold and ivory; and in 1555-6-7 of three voyages under Captain Towrson, and these voyages were succeeded by others almost annually.

In 1562, however, Sir John Hawkins, one of Queen Elizabeth's great sea-captains, touched at Sierra Leone, and plundered the natives at Tagarin, carrying off three hundred negroes for sale as slaves in the island of Hispaniola. Again, in 1565, Hawkins appeared, and anchored off Tagarin. When the "Swallow" went up the river about her traffic they saw great towns of the negroes, and canoes with three score men in apiece, and they understood from the Portuguese that a great battle was about to take place between the Sierra Leone natives and those of Tagarin. When the crew landed to fill the water casks, the

natives set upon the men and drove them off, wounding several. This, and the unhealthiness of the neighbourhood, caused Hawkins to hasten the departure of his ships.

In 1580 we hear of another of Elizabeth's great commanders, Sir Francis Drake, touching at Sierra Leone, where his fleet spent two days and then put to sea again. The account of this visit is, perhaps, worth recording here.

"From the Cape of Good Hope we continued our course to Sierra Leone, on the coast of Guinea, where we arrived 22nd July, and found necessarie provisions, great store of elephants, oysters upon the trees of one kind spawning and increasing infinitely, the oyster suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the 24th day."

But at the end of the fifteenth century there began a distinct colonizing movement for the purpose of advancing the commerce of Europe, a movement which gained strength from the almost simultaneous discovery of America and the Cape of Good Hope route to India. There was, in fact, no way of dealing with the natives of these vast African countries but by forming settlements on their coasts, and for this purpose there arose the great trading companies, chartered by the Governments of Holland and England, which, whilst they did not confine their operations to particular ports, required the protection and special privileges of charters from their Governments to protect them from the inroads of private adventurers when the first difficulties of colonizing were over.

Owing to the hostility of the Portuguese, English attention turned to Sierra Leone, and upon application to Queen Elizabeth, two Patents of Special License were granted for the Guinea trade, which really gave rise to the African Trading Companies.

One granted, in May, 1588, for ten years, to certain merchants of Exeter and London, rights of trading from the northernmost part of the River Senegal to, and including the Gambia river.

The other was granted in May, 1592, for ten years, to Thomas Gregory and others, confirming trading rights over the country between the Rio Nunez and the southernmost part of the river of Sierra Leone, and to

other parts as well to the south-east as to the north-west, for one hundred leagues.

Doubtless, after this date, there were many voyages made to Sierra Leone of which we know nothing, until the year 1607, when we get the earliest and best account of Sierra Leone from an English merchant, William Finch, who touched there on his way to the East Indies.

He tells us :

" On the fourth cove of the bay is the watering place, and on the rocks they found the names of divers Englishmen inscribed, among others those of Sir Francis Drake, who had been there twenty-seven years before, Thomas Candish, Captain Lister, and others.

" The King's residence was at the end of the Bay, and was called by the Moors (the natives) Borea, the dominions of the King stretching forty leagues into the interior, the King having tribute of cotton cloth, elephants teeth and gold, with powers to sell his people for slaves (which he proffered to the English).

" Some of the blacks are by Portuguese priests made Christians, and have a chapel, wherein are written in a table such days as they are to observe Holy.

" The King and some about him are decently clothed in jackets and breeches and some with hats, but the common sort go naked except a cotton girdle about their waists. The women cover their bodies with a cotton cloth which is wrapped about them, and being tied to their middles hangs down to the knees. The children go stark naked. Both sexes have their bodies curiously pinked or cut, and their teeth filed very sharp. They pull off all the hair on the eye-lids : their beards are short, crisp, and black. As to the hair of their heads, some cut it in cross lines, leaving square tufts standing : others wear it jagged in tufts or in other forms : but the women shave all close.

" Their towns consist of thirty or forty houses all clustered together. They are covered with reed, and enclosed with mud walls, having at the entrance a mat instead of a door.

" When the men go abroad they wear upon their shoulder a knapsack made of rinds of trees to carry provisions, tobacco, and pipe. They wear a little sword by their side made of such iron as is brought them ; also a bow and quiver full of poisoned arrows, pointed with iron, in form of a snake's sting, or else a case of javelins or darts, pointed with iron of a good breadth and shape ; sometimes with both.

" They are big and well set men, strong and courageous, of a civil disposition. They keep themselves for the most part unto their own wives, of whom they are not a little jealous. . . . They are very just and honest, theft being punished with present death.

"The Moors of Sierra Leone feed on rice which they have in great plenty, although they sow only what is sufficient to serve them near their houses, and are obliged to burn up the wood to make room for the purpose.

"They sow also another little seed called *Pene*, not much unlike that of winter savory, of which they make bread. They have some few hens, but no other flesh, except sometimes they get a wild fawn in the mountains or some fowl. They feed also on roots, herbs, cockles, and oysters, having great store growing on the rocks and trees by the seaside, but of a flashy (*sic*) taste. They take much good fish with waves (*sic*) and other devices. They plant about their houses plantain trees, gourds, potatoes, pompion, and guinea pepper: but especially tobacco which seems to be half their food. . . . Both men and women smoke. The bowl of their pipe is very large and made of clay well burned. Into the lower end they thrust a small hollow cane."

In 1618, England commenced to establish a regular trade with the West Coast of Africa, for we find in November of that year, that James I. granted a charter of incorporation to a company of merchants styled, "The Company of Adventurers of London trading to Africa."

The Company built a fort on the Gambia, and another at Cormantine, on the Gold Coast, but they suffered such losses that the Charter was allowed to expire, though it was not annulled until 1631, when a new Charter was granted to Sir Richard Young and others by Charles I. for a period of thirty-one years. We do not hear, however, that they did much at Sierra Leone, though it is certain that both the English and the Dutch traded with the natives, until 1651, when we find that it was decided by a Council of State that twenty leagues on each side of the river Cerberro (Sherbro), near Sierra Leone, was granted to the Company to the exclusion of other traders, on condition that it fortified and secured the same to the interest of the Commonwealth. This exclusive trade was to last for fourteen years, and all the rest of the Coast of Guinea was to be free to all traders.

In January, 1663, a Charter was granted by Charles II. to a New Company styled, "The Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa," for the furtherance of trade and encouragement in the discovery of the golden mines, and the settling of plantations. Their Charter

granted them an exclusive trade in all the regions and dominions extending from the Port of Sallee in South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope, and the Company was to render to his Majesty and his successors, two elephants whenever he or any of them should land in the said regions, and also to supply three thousand negro slaves to the British West Indies annually. Among the founders of the Company were many persons of rank, amongst others, the King's mother, Queen Katherine, and his brother, James Duke of York. The Company had for a seal, on one side the image of the King, and on the other an elephant supported by two blackamoors.

The Company was making large profits from the exportation of gold dust and the transport of slaves until the Dutch interfered with their trade, and although the struggles with the Dutch finally proved fatal to its success, they did establish forts at Cape Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia, for which they received £34,000 from the Crown when they surrendered their Charter in 1672.

In December, 1663, a warrant was issued "to cause all gold and silver brought to the mint for the use of the Royal African Company to be coined with a little elephant thereon as a mark of distinction from the rest of his Majesty's moneys, and an encouragement to the Company."

In 1664 the Company complained to Parliament that its trade was damaged by the Dutch. Reparation was demanded, but no satisfaction being obtained, Charles II. sent Captain Holmes with a ship of war to Africa, and he captured Goree.

In retaliation war was declared, and the Dutch under de Ruyter, on recapturing Goree from the English, descended upon Sierra Leone, and in December, 1664, after obtaining water and supplies, disabled and pillaged the English factory on Tasso Island as punishment for the ill-treatment of some Dutch settlers whose goods had been seized. His fleet then passed on to the Gold Coast to attack the forts there.

In 1665, we find the Royal Company of Adventurers complaining to the King in their trading report, of the losses they incurred owing to the revenge taken by the Dutch for the actions of Captain Holmes. This officer

seized Goree, which was then considered the key to the African coast, at a time when no officially recognised state of war existed between England and Holland, though the seizure of Cape Coast Castle by the Dutch was an act of war, and probably led to Captain Holmes' reprisals.

In this report they mention having settled factories at, amongst other places, Sierra Leone, Cerborow (Sherbro), Cestos, and other adjacent ports. However, they still kept their hold on these places, and by the Treaty of Breda, between England and Holland in 1667, it was mutually agreed "that each party should keep and enjoy such lands, islands, towns, fortresses, places, and colonies, as during that war or before it had by force of arms or otherwise been taken from the other."

We have the account of the *Sieur Villault de Bellefond*, of his visit to Sierra Leone at this time (1666). He writes as follows, "From Cape Ledo were several bays, the fourth of which was called the Bay of France, either because the French were formerly possessed of that part of the coast, or that they burned a town there, heretofore. And this is the only bay in that river, where they can take in fresh water of which there are three springs."

Villault had the curiosity to trace one of these springs, and having followed it a league, to the foot of the mountains, "observed the tracks and prints of the wild beasts, which were so dreadful to behold that he turned back." He was afterwards informed by one of the Portuguese that it had its source in the midst of the woods, which are about fifteen leagues over, and "that if he had pursued his design of tracing it to its source, he must have been devoured by some of the wild beasts, such as tygers, elephants, and crocodiles, which are there as well as lions." He mentions also that the Portuguese settled there had made many converts, and that the King who then reigned, named Felipe, was a convert to Christianity, and had a Capuchin and a Jesuit at his Court. Further, that all the natives spoke Portuguese, and were very apprehensive of being drunk.

But the Royal Adventurers had been crippled by their losses, and to enable them to pay their debts, in

1672 Charles II. accepted the surrender of their Charter, and a new Charter was granted to the Duke of York, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and others, as "The Royal African Company of England," for one thousand years, to carry on trade from Sallee to Cape of Good Hope on the same terms as the Adventurers, and with a similar Seal. It was out of the £111,000 subscribed by this Company that the £34,000 previously referred to was paid to the Royal Adventurers.

After the destruction of the factory on Tasso Island by de Ruyter, another fort (and factory) was established at Bance Island in the Sierra Leone River, about fifteen miles from the mouth, for the security of the Company's trade, and in the Report of the Royal African Company, 1672, it is stated that "At Sierra Leone River they have a factory for elephant's teeth, bee's wax, cow-hides, gold, and Negroes, whence they sail into the Sherbro river where there is a trade chiefly for red wood, useful in dyeing, of which sometimes three hundred tons per annum may be got, and elephant's teeth; thence they trade to Cape Mount and Cestos for elephant's teeth, where there was formerly a factory; and all along by ships staying a day or more they trade on . . ."

In 1678, when Monsieur Barbot, Agent-General of the French African Company, first went into the Sierra Leone river, he says, "This river has several small islands and rocks at the entrance into the bay which look like hay-reeks. The chief of them are the islands Cogu, Tasso, and Bences; on the last whereof the English have erected a small fort, which has nothing considerable but the advantage of the situation, on a steep rock, of difficult access, which is only up a sort of stairs cut in the rock, and is a store-house for the Royal African Company. The fort is of lime and stone, the walls low, has a round flanker with five guns, a curtain with embrasures for four large guns, and a platform just before it with six guns, all of them well mounted. But there are no considerable buildings in it, the slave booth being the best. The garrison generally consists of twenty white men and thirty gromettas, who are free blacks, and have a small village under the shelter of the fort. The island is of little compass, and the soil barren.

"The Portuguese have several small settlements in this country, particularly one near Dondermuch or Doindomuch, but very little correspondence with the English of Bence Island, being jealous of them in point of trade.

"The Portuguese missionaries made many converts formerly in this country, the people following the example of their king Fatima and some grandees whom the Jesuit Bareira baptized about the year 1607, but they all returned again to their own more natural idolatry."

In the Report of the Royal African Company for 1686, we find complaint again being made that although they had by great efforts and extraordinary expenditure kept the trade of the country from falling into the hands of the Dutch, they had also suffered great loss by the action of interlopers (private traders) who had carried Negroes to the plantations in the West Indies, contrary to law, and so injured the Company's trade. But the end was at hand, and in 1688 this Company was practically abolished and the trade to Africa thrown open. In 1728 they abandoned the fort and buildings at Bance Island, and the factory at Jamaica-town, Sherbro. It was not, however, until 1750 that the Charter of 1672 was recalled, and "The Company of Merchants trading to Africa" constituted (23 Geo. II. cap. 31). Their trading rights were to extend from the Port of Sallee, South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope, and they received a subsidy from the Government. This was the fifth company chartered, and lasted until 1821, when, as all its expenses had become a public charge, the Charter was withdrawn and its possessions annexed to and made part of the dependencies of the Colony of Sierra Leone.

In 1752 compensation was granted to the Royal African Company of 1672 by Act of Parliament, to the amount of £112,142 for their forts and possessions on the West Coast of Africa.

We have now traced briefly the history of Sierra Leone from the earliest periods down to the latter part of the eighteenth century as far as record can be found, and although the events which led to the foundation of Sierra Leone as a British colony occurred before the century was ended, and demand a new chapter, it

might be as well to close this one with such information as we have of a local character up to this time.

In their proper places we have already recorded what Hanno has said of his experience in the Bay called the Western Horn, which Captain Burton identifies as Sierra Leone, the slight references made to the place by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, and the account of it as seen by William Finch in 1607, as well as the Reports of the Royal African Company of England concerning the articles of trade they dealt in, and the account given by the Sieur Villault de Bellefond of his visit in 1666, and M. Barbot in 1678.

But the following accounts being the only ones of a lengthy character must be interesting, as affording us a picture of Sierra Leone at various times, and are therefore given in full.

When M. Barbot, in 1678, first visited the Sierra Leone river he stated that there were no considerable buildings at Bance Island, but in describing the pillaging of the factory there in 1704 by the French, he tells a different tale and says, "that the fort was very handsomely built, with four regular bastions, and had very fine warehouses and lodgings within it. The walls were mounted with forty-four guns, and over the gate was a platform with four large pieces which might have done very good service upon occasion.

"But on the 17th July, 1704, two small French men-of-war under the Sieur Guerin, attended by nine other sail of ships, took the fort without any resistance; the commanding officer with about one hundred men fled on the fleet's approach, leaving in it only a gunner, and eleven or twelve men, who fired forty or fifty shot before they surrendered.

"The French pillaged and levelled it, after having carried thence four thousand elephants' teeth, besides three thousand that were aboard a little ship riding behind the island, with abundance of merchandize fit for the trade of the country."

In a voyage to Guinea in H. M. ship the "Swallow," Surgeon John Atkins, R.N., describes his visit to Sierra Leone in April, 1721.

"The country about Sierra Leone is so thick spread with wood, that you cannot penetrate a pole's length from the water

side, unless between the town and fountain whence they fetch their water, without a great deal of difficulty. They have paths, however, through these woods to their *Lollas** and *Lugarst*†, which though but a mile or two from the town, are frequently the walks of wild beasts, the author having found their excrements up and down here, white and mixed with officles.

"Their houses are low little huts, built with wooden stockades (or forkillas), set in the ground in a round or square form and thatched with straw. They are swept clean every day, and for furniture have a mat or two to lie down upon; two or three earthen or wooden dishes and stools, with a spoon, all of their own making. They are idle principally from want of arts and domestic employment: for they are so cautious of planting too much and wasting their labour, that they are really improvident; smoking all day in long reed pipes: unplagued with to-morrow, or the politics of Europe. Whole towns shift their habitations, either when they do not like their neighbours or have more conveniency somewhere else, soon clearing ground enough for what building and culture they propose to set on foot.

"The religion of the people here, if it may be called such, consists in their veneration to greegries. Everyone keeps in his house, in his canoe, or about his person, something that he highly reverences, and that he imagines can, and does, defend him from misfortune . . . either a cleaned piece of wood, a bundle of peculiar little sticks, or bones, a monkey's skull, or the like often serves the purpose."

During the author's stay at this port, he paid a visit to Signor Joseph, a Christian negro, about nine miles up the river, which he relates.

"The Signor had lately with his people left a clean, well-built town, and removed farther up the river. The huts (of this abandoned town) were mostly orbicular, and placed so as to form a spacious square in the middle, facing which were the doors paved with cockle shells. There stood two or three crosses, and round about were planted lime trees, papaws plantains, pine apples, and a few bee hives."

The reason of Signor Joseph's leaving the other town, he told me, was "the frequent palavers he was engaged in, on account of differences between his people and the grumettas, and the great expense he was at in being so near a neighbourhood with the English. He had been.

* The *Lollas* are cleared of wood, but barren, and the habitation only of bug-a-bugs, a species of the ant.

† *Lugars* are open clear spaces sowed with rice, etc.

in England and Portugal. At the last place he was baptized. He has built a little oratory for his people's devotions, and erected a cross, and taught several of his kindred letters, dispensing among them little Romish prayer books, and many of them are known by Christian names. Those of the country never have but one name."

Sierra Leone in the early days of the eighteenth century being a noted rendezvous for pirates, in 1720 the fort at Bance Island was again pillaged and damaged this time by one Captain Roberts.

The following account of the occurrence is given by Mr. William Smith, Surveyor to the Royal African Company, who visited Sierra Leone in 1726:—

"Roberts having three stout ships under his command, put into Sierra Leone for fresh water, and finding a trading vessel in the Bay of France, took her thence and carried her into another near the Cape, which is very deep and has a long narrow entry. This the author in his survey has called Pirate's Bay, because when Roberts had rifled that ship, he set fire to her; and part of her bottom was to be seen at low water when Mr. Smith was there. The next day Roberts sent up a boat well armed to Governor Plunkett desiring to know if he could spare him any gold dust or powder and ball? Plunkett sent word he had no gold to spare: but that as to powder and ball he had some at his service if he would take the trouble to come for it. Roberts, considering this reply, anchored with his ships the next flood before Bance Island, and a smart engagement followed between him and the Governor for several hours together, till Plunkett, having fired away all his ammunition, fled in his boat to a small island called Tombo. But, being overtaken by the Pirates, was brought back again to Bance Island, where Roberts swore heartily at him for his Irish impudence in daring to resist him. Plunkett, finding the bad company he had gotten into, fell a cursing and swearing faster than Roberts, which raised much laughter amongst the Pirates, who bid Roberts hold his tongue, for that he had no share at all in the palaver with Plunkett. However, it is said that by mere dint of swearing, Old Plunkett saved his life. When Roberts had rifled the warehouses, he went aboard and sailed out of the river next ebb, leaving Plunkett again in possession of the fort, which the pirates had much damaged."

In 1721 a British man-of-war, the "Swallow," fell in with Roberts, with three private vessels, off Cape Lopez, and in the action which ensued Roberts was

killed. The pirates surrendered and were conveyed for trial to Cape Coast Castle, where a number of them were executed.

The Surveyor to the Royal African Company also gives us a glimpse of both Sierra Leone and Sherbro, as well as some of the islands, at this time, which is interesting.

When the "Bonetta" sloop in which Mr. Smith was a passenger got abreast of Cape Sierra Leone, they hoisted the Union flag and saluted it with seven guns, in consequence of the new Governor of Sierra Leone being on board, all Guinea Governors being empowered by charter to wear the Union flag in their respective districts.

The sloop sailed up to Bance Island, the official residence of the Governor, where he landed and received the usual salute. On the island there was a regular piece of fortification, mounted with twenty-two heavy cannon, besides a battery under the fort wall with eleven guns more.

At Tasso Island the African Company had good plantations for their slaves.

He tells us that "the river of Sierra Leone abounds with several sorts of fish, most of them good except the oysters which grow there on the branches of the mangrove trees. These are found in shallow places, their branches having a natural tendency towards the water. Having cut off one of those branches it was so full of oysters, barnacles, etc., that he could scarce lift it into the boat."

Smith sailed from Bance Island for Sherbro, and upon landing at the Banana Islands, he found some white people there who had quitted the Company's service, and set up for themselves. There were white people trading at the Plantain Isles also. On landing at York Island, Sherbro, he found only one white man there, a factor; and as the fort was a dismal heap of ruins, the place was destitute of all defence against the natives. Accordingly, he removed the Company's effects to Jamaica Town, where two houses were bought for a factory.

In 1673 the French established the Senegal Company, took possession of, and built a fort for trading purposes upon the Isle of St. Louis.

A century later they obtained a footing in Sierra Leone, for we find that in 1785, representations were made to the Admiralty and to the African Company that the French were erecting a battery of six guns on Gambia Island in the Sierra Leone river, and that if steps were not taken to prevent these proceedings, the whole trade would soon be in their hands.

In April, 1786, a French frigate arrived at Sierra Leone and exchanged the soldiers of the garrison on Gambia Island, leaving also supplies of provisions and stores. It was then represented to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Gambia Island being occupied by the French would not be of any great consequence during time of peace, except causing the natives to look upon them with that confidence, respect, and awe, they formerly did the English; but should another war break out, the French would, no doubt, reinforce Gambia Island, and the British settlements and trade fall into their hands."

In October, 1786, the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, memorialised the Government, pointing out that the action of the French in effecting a settlement upon Gambia Island, with a view to engross to themselves the valuable trade of that part of Africa, and to destroy the English settlement which had existed for about one hundred years past on Bance Island, was a breach of the twelfth article of the Treaty of Peace with France, signed at Versailles the 3rd of September, 1783.

Mr. John Matthews, Lieutenant, Royal Navy, a commercial agent, in the account of his voyage to the River Sierra Leone, during his residence in that country in the years 1785-6 and 7, states, in letter of September, 1785:—

"I have just finished my negotiations with the natives for a convenient situation to erect stores and workmen's houses. The same place was purchased by a former agent to the same company by which I am employed, whom the natives murdered in a most horrid manner; since which time (about fourteen years ago), *not a white man has dared to put his foot on shore*, and prior to that period they had destroyed the crews of several vessels and plundered their cargoes.

"It was with some difficulty I could prevail on the natives who resided in the bay to meet me; they were apprehensive

I should take vengeance upon them for their former cruelty. . . .

"Image to yourself the shore of a little sandy bay covered with black men, women, and children. Under the shade of a tree sat the king in an arm chair, dressed in a suit of blue silk, trimmed with silver lace, with a laced hat and ruffled shirt and shoes and stockings. On each side sat his principal people, and behind him two or three of his wives. This river was formerly a place of great trade for slaves and ivory, but the slave merchants now take a different route.

"The natives are originally Suzees,* but the principal people call themselves Portuguese, claiming their descent from the colonists of that nation who were formerly settled here, though they do not retain the smallest trace of European extraction; but having had a white man once in the family is sufficient to give them the appellation. They also profess the Roman Catholic religion, and are visited once or twice a year by a priest from the Portuguese Settlement at Basson, who baptizes their children and receives their confession of faith according to his dictates: yet the most enlightened of them are merely nominal Christians. Their religion principally consists in repeating a *Pater Noster* or an *Ave Maria*, and in wearing a large string of beads round their neck with a cross or crucifixion suspended. In every other respect they follow the customs and ceremonies of their pagan countrymen, but generally exceed them in treachery and revenge.

"The natives at and about Sierra Leone are not remarkable for their industry or their honesty. They cultivate little more rice than is necessary for their own consumption from season to season; and, should a crop fail, they are frequently reduced to great distress. Immoderately fond of liquor they part with everything they are possessed of to acquire it; and when those means fail, they pursue the same course which idle drunkards do in every part of the world: rob and plunder their neighbours, for few apply themselves to trade."

* Susus

The River Sierra Leone referred to in this Chapter was really the mouth of the River Roquelle, and about 20 miles of its course inland. This error is constantly occurring down to the present day.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES THAT LED TO GREAT BRITAIN BECOMING INTERESTED IN A NATIVE SETTLEMENT IN AFRICA.

Slavery the initial cause of founding the Settlement—Slavery from the earliest times—Portuguese begin the slave trade after the discovery of America—Other European nations take it up—Natives carried off from Sierra Leone and sold into slavery by Sir John Hawkins, 1562—Ill-treatment on board slave ships—Negroes in England—Slavery unpopular—The case of Somerset, and Lord Mansfield's judgment, 1772—Society for Suppression of Slave Trade formed—Abolition of slave trade, 1807—Emancipation of slaves, 1838—Destitute negroes in England—Plan of negro settlement at Sierra Leone—Despatch of first settlers and arrival in Sierra Leone—The white women—Mrs. Falconbridge's account of them—Grant of land from King Tom for settlement—Mortality and emigration of settlers—Purchase of land for ever from native chiefs—Colonists attacked by Timinis—St George's Bay Company—Mr. Falconbridge proceeds to Sierra Leone as agent—Granville Town formed—King Naimbanna's son sent to England—Death of Naimbanna—Return and death of his son.

HAVING now brought the early history of Sierra Leone down to a period from which we may date the beginning of the permanent settlement of the British in Sierra Leone, it will be necessary to enter upon an explanation of the reasons which led to its becoming a British colony, before going into the account of its government by the Crown.

The initial cause of the British forming this colony, which was, and is, practically useless as an outlet for Great Britain's surplus population, such as other colonies have been, may be summed up in one word, SLAVERY, the traffic in human flesh and blood which sold the Negro, body and soul, to anyone who required labour and was able to pay the price demanded for it—a traffic which disgraced the very name of Christianity for three centuries.

Doubtless, slavery existed from the earliest period of the world's history, and arose probably out of the capture of prisoners in war, and the consequent discovery

that it was more profitable to keep them and employ them in all kinds of work for the benefit of their captors, than to massacre them. All Oriental nations had slaves, and we know that the Hebrews held slaves not only of other races and people, but of their own nation also, though these latter could be redeemed, or became free men again after seven years of servitude, whilst there was a general emancipation of slaves every fifty years.

Both the Greeks and Romans held slaves, captives taken in their own wars, and of various nations, and others purchased probably from other races who had made similar captures in their own tribal warfare, and who had been quick to discover a market for the prisoners they did not wish to retain themselves. That there were slaves of the black races of Africa in the hands of both these nations there is no doubt.

Slaves were exported from Britain to the Continent in the Saxon period, frequently to Romans, who conveyed them to Rome where they were publicly exposed for sale, as will be remembered from the circumstance of the Saxon children in the Roman market place attracting the attention of Gregory, afterwards Pope of Rome, which proved the occasion of the first Christian mission to England from that Church.

In Christian Europe generally, slavery seems to have ceased to exist about the close of the twelfth century, although it did not die out in England until five centuries later.

Up to the time of the Norman conquest it was a common custom among the English to sell their children and other relatives to the Irish for slaves, Bristol being the great mart for the trade. The progress of the Anglo-Norman adventurers in Ireland, A.D. 1170, excited general alarm in the country, and a synod of all the clergy of Ireland was convoked at Armagh, who came to the conclusion that the invasion was a judgment from heaven for the crime of slavery, and they decreed that all English slaves should be forthwith restored to freedom.

During the Cromwellian settlement in Ireland thousands of the inhabitants were seized and sold as slaves by the merchants of Bristol who drove a lucrative trade with the English planters in the West Indies.

Macaulay in his description of Bristol in 1685, writes as follows in reference to the slave trade in England:—

“There was in the transatlantic possessions of the Crown a great demand for labour, and this demand was partly supplied by a system of crimping and kidnapping at the principal English seaports. Nowhere was this system in such active and extensive operation as at Bristol. Even the first magistrates of that city were not ashamed to enrich themselves by so odious a commerce.”*

But the slavery of the Negro that we have to deal with may be said to date from the sixteenth century, when, after the discovery of America, the aborigines of America and the West Indies, having been found too weakly for the work in the mines and on the plantations, large numbers of African negroes were imported by the Portuguese, who owned the greater portion of the African coast then known. The first part of the New World to which negroes were sent was Hispaniola (Hayti) where they existed as early as 1505, as the result of the representations of the celebrated Bishop of Chiapa, Las Casas, who pleaded the cause of the poor American Indians. It is said that Cardinal Ximenes, who was Regent of Spain at the moment, was opposed to this traffic, and consequently was the first of the Abolitionists; but on taking the reins of government, the Emperor Charles V., in 1517, authorised a further large importation of negroes to St. Domingo to replace the labour of the aboriginal natives of the island.

From this time the value of the negro as a slave increased yearly, and the traders and adventurers of all nations who made voyages to the African coast joined in the traffic. The first Englishman to participate in it was Sir John Hawkins, whose visit to Sierra Leone in 1562 was described in the previous chapter. Mr. Wilberforce stated in the House of Commons during the debates on the motion for the abolition of the slave trade, that the number of slaves annually carried from the coast of Africa in British vessels was about 38,000, of which on an average 22,500 were carried to the British islands. The principal companies trading in

* *History of England*, vol. i., p. 100.

slaves held a license from Spain, the English Companies sailing from Bristol and Liverpool.

The high prices to be obtained for full-grown negroes led to great inhumanity in the carrying on of the slave trade. Ships were overcrowded with slaves, and consequently sickness became rife, resulting in many cases in great loss of life. On arrival in the New World their treatment depended much upon the character of the master into whose hands they fell, but the slaves in general were saleable, transferable, and punishable at the will of their owners, and were severely and harshly dealt with in some cases. Restrictions, however, were gradually introduced by the law of the respective States, in order to protect the life of the negro slave against the caprice or brutality of his owner. In colonies under the English flag, courts were instituted in which the slave could claim a hearing of any complaints they might have against their masters, the flogging of women was prohibited, and the condition of the slave population was greatly ameliorated. There cannot be any doubt, indeed, but that although England engaged largely in the monstrous traffic, directly the slave landed in her settlements, he was to a certain extent protected by law from the inhuman treatment which fell to his lot elsewhere.

Many West Indian planters brought negroes to England as servants and attendants. Some of these were turned adrift, and over others the master claimed the same rights as he held in the colonies where slavery was legal. These rights were upheld by the Attorney and Solicitor-General in 1729, and as late as 1764 there were said to be thousands of negro slaves in London, whilst in 1771, a negro boy was advertised for sale in an English newspaper.

But the system of slavery had become very unpopular with the English people. Public attention was at last called to the question as to whether a slave remained a slave after his arrival in England, which was brought to a final issue by Mr. Granville Sharp, in the case of the seizure of a negro slave named James Somerset. This man was brought to England by his master from Jamaica in 1769, and shortly after his arrival here ran away from him. The master had him seized and sent on board a ship bound for the West Indies, there to be

sold. The case was brought into court by Mr. Sharp, before Lord Mansfield, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in January, 1772, and in June of the same year his judgment was that a slave on setting foot in England became free and could not be carried back to slavery. Though public feeling was against slavery, and other judges had expressed, more freely, perhaps, the same views as Lord Mansfield, it was only now that the African became free by statute in this country.

From this time may be dated the efforts made to procure, first, the abolition of the traffic in slaves, and secondly, the emancipation of the slave himself.

The complete history of the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slave, which forms one of the brightest pages in the records of England, is too well known to require any elaboration here. It is sufficient to say that in 1787 a society for the abolition of slavery was started in London with Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp as active members. William Wilberforce, its parliamentary leader, and Zachary Macaulay, afterwards Governor of Sierra Leone, whose life in Jamaica, as an estate agent, had enlisted his warmest sympathy with the negro slave, as its most zealous friend. In 1788 the Privy Council held an enquiry into the state of the slave trade, and rules were laid down to regulate the traffic on board the ships engaged in it, and so diminish the horrors of the voyage to the New World. In 1791 a Bill brought before Parliament by Wilberforce was lost, but in 1792, supported by Pitt, he carried a motion to *gradually* abolish the trade. Wilberforce stated that according to the evidence contained in the Privy Council report laid on the table of the House, the slaves carried from the Coast of Africa consisted of:—

- (a) Prisoners of war.
- (b) Free persons sold for debt, or on account of real or imputed crimes, particularly adultery and witchcraft.
- (c) Domestic slaves sold for the profit of their masters.
- (d) Persons made slaves by various acts of oppression.

During the debates Mr. Henry Thornton, on 2nd April, 1792, stated some new facts which had come to his immediate knowledge as a Director of the Sierra Leone Company, and his statement throws further light upon the condition of Sierra Leone at the time of its foundation as a British colony.*

"Mr. Falconbridge, Agent to the Sierra Leone Company, sitting one evening in Sierra Leone heard a shout, and immediately afterwards the report of a gun. Fearing an attack, he armed forty of the settlers, and rushed with them to the place from whence the noise came. He found a poor wretch, who had been crossing from a neighbouring village, in the possession of a party of kidnappers who were tying his hands. Mr. Falconbridge, however, dared not rescue him, lest, in the defenceless state of his own town, retaliation might be made upon him.

"At another time a young lad, one of the free settlers who went from England, was caught by a neighbouring chief as he was straggling alone from home, and sold for a slave. The pretext was that someone in the town of Sierra Leone had committed an offence. Hence the first person belonging to it who could be seized was to be punished. Happily the free settlers saw him in his chains; and they recovered him before he was conveyed to the ship.

"To mark still more forcibly the scenes of misery to which the slave trade gave birth, he would mention a case stated to him in a letter by King Naimbanna. It had happened to this respectable person, in no less than three instances, to have some branches of his family kidnapped and carried off to the West Indies. At one time three young men, Corpro, Banna, and Marbrour, were decoyed on board a Danish slave ship, under pretence of buying something, and were taken away. At another time another relation piloted a vessel down the river. He begged to be put on shore when he came opposite to his own town, but he was pressed to pilot her to the river's mouth. The captain then pleaded the impracticability of putting him on shore: carried him to Jamaica: and sold him for a slave. Fortunately, however, by means of a letter which was conveyed there, the man, by the assistance of the Governor, was sent back to Sierra Leone. At another time another relation was also kidnapped, but he had not the good fortune, like the former, to return.

"He would mention one other instance. A son had sold his own father, for whom he obtained a considerable price: for as the father was rich in domestic slaves, it was not doubted that he would offer largely for his ransom. The old man accordingly

* Clarkson's *Abolition of the African Slave Trade*, pp. 385-7.

gave twenty-two of these in exchange for himself. The rest, however, being from that time filled with apprehensions of being on some ground or other sold to the slave ships, fled to the mountains of Sierra Leone, where they now dragged on a miserable existence. The son himself was sold in his turn soon after. In short, the whole of that unhappy peninsula, as he learnt from eye witnesses, had been desolated by the trade in slaves. Towns were seen standing without inhabitants all over the coast, in several of which the agent of the company had been. There was nothing but distrust among the inhabitants. Everyone, if he stirred from home, felt himself obliged to be armed.

"Such was the nature of the slave trade. It had, unfortunately, obtained the name of a trade, and many had been deceived by the appellation. But it was war and not trade. It was a mass of crimes and not commerce. It was that which prevented the introduction of a trade in Africa: for it was only by clearing and cultivating the lands that the climate could be made healthy for settlements; but this wicked traffic, by dispersing the inhabitants and causing the lands to remain uncultivated, made the coast unhealthy to Europeans. He had found in attempting to establish a colony there, that it was an obstacle which opposed itself to him in innumerable ways, it created more embarrassments than all the natural impediments of the country: and it was more hard to contend with than any difficulties of climate, soil, or natural disposition of the people."

But the opinion not only of England, but of Europe, was being aroused, for in 1794 even the anti-Christian French Convention influenced by Rousseau's teaching, decreed that slavery should be abolished in the French colonies, and the slaves given the rights of French citizens.

Meanwhile, the conquest of the Dutch colonies having led to a great increase in the slave traffic, in 1805 it was prohibited in those territories, and the next year saw a Bill passed prohibiting British subjects engaging in it. In that year also Fox brought forward a resolution for its total abolition next session, which was carried in the Commons, and on Lord Granville's motion adopted in the Lords. In the following year Lord Howick (afterwards Earl Grey) brought in a Bill making the slave trade illegal, which passed both Houses and received the Royal Assent in March, 1807. The penalties were not, however, sufficient to stop the trade, and in 1811, Brougham brought in a Bill making the slave

trade felony, whilst in 1824 another Act declared it piracy. The United States followed England in abolishing the slave trade in 1808, as did most of the other European powers and the South American Republics, and the entry of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil later on completed the agreement of the nations. In 1833 the British Parliament, led by Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, passed the Emancipation Bill and voted twenty millions to indemnify British shareholders. After a period of apprenticeship of the emancipated negroes, the complete emancipation was completed by the English in 1838.

Whilst this gradual movement towards the final freeing of the slave had been going on, other events had occurred which, in combination with the emancipation of all slaves in British territory, led up to attention being turned towards Sierra Leone as a settlement. During the War of Independence in America (1775-1783) many negroes had served in British ships of war, and joined British regiments, and having behaved well were conveyed to the Bahamas, Nova Scotia, and England, principally to London. These last (about 400 it is said), having no pay, and no claim to parochial relief, flocked to Mr. Sharp, the indefatigable benefactor of the African, who, by the aid of charitable subscriptions was enabled to alleviate their immediate distress. The expense of maintaining this number of poor blacks permanently was, however, quite beyond his powers, and the problem arose as to what was to be done with them.

From an English traveller and naturalist, who had resided for some years in Sierra Leone and the neighbourhood, came the suggestion of forming a free negro settlement there. Doctor Smeathman represented that the peninsula being then thinly populated (1783), the natives would not be inconvenienced by the new-comers, and fertile land could be bought which would enable them to provide, when once established, for their own wants. Mr. Sharp and the British Government entered warmly into the project, and after due discussion, in 1786 Doctor Smeathman published his Plan of Settlement,* accompanied by a handbill from the Committee

* See Appendix A.

for the Black Poor, recommending the persons who desired to avail themselves of the opportunity of returning to Africa to place themselves under his charge.

About seven hundred applications to go to the proposed settlement came in, and many embarked in the vessels provided in the Thames before Christmas, 1786, but others delayed until January and even February, having in some way acquired an impression that the Government intended to transport them to the convict settlement in Botany Bay, Australia.

Instead, however, of seven hundred black poor who had offered themselves to go to the proposed settlement, only four hundred and eleven settlers (about sixty of whom were white women), sailed from Portsmouth on 22nd of February, 1787, in the transports "Belisarius," "Atlantic," and "Vernon," under convoy of the "Nautilus" sloop of war, commanded by Captain B. Thompson, Royal Navy. Meeting with stormy weather, the ships separated, and it was the 19th of March before they were all collected in Plymouth Sound. Thus the best part of the season was lost, and many of the people having been on board above three months, had become very sickly.

The story of the sixty white women above referred to seems almost incredible when we remember the character of the men who were promoting the scheme for the settlement of the negroes freed from slavery. According to all accounts they were women of the lowest character. They seem to have been taken off the streets, plied with liquor, possibly drugged, and whilst in this condition put on board the ships with the blacks. When they came to their senses they were told that certain negroes were their husbands, and so they departed to Sierra Leone. That such a thing could be done at all seems to us in these days nothing short of monstrous, and that it was done must ever remain a blot, not only on the Government of the day that permitted it, but on the memory of those men whose names will ever stand prominent in history as the leaders of one of the noblest movements ever made by man for his fellow-men.

We hear but little of what became of these wretched creatures, who were, from every point of view, the worst settlers that could be sent to any colony. Mrs.

Falconbridge, wife of the Company's agent, appears to have met and attempted to rescue some of them from their miserable lot, and to her we must leave the description of the state she found them in.

In her "Narrative of two short voyages to the river Sierra Leone during the years 1791-2-3," she says:—

"It was surely a premature, hair-brained and ill-digested scheme to think of sending such a number of people all at once to a rude, barbarous, and unhealthy country before they were certain of possessing an acre of land, and I very much fear will terminate in disappointment, if not disgrace to the authors, though at the same time I am persuaded the motives sprung from minds unsullied with evil meaning.

"I never did, and God grant I never may again, witness so much misery as I was forced to be a spectator of here. Among the outcasts were seven of our countrywomen decrepid with disease, and so disguised with filth and dirt, that I should never have supposed they were born white. Add to this, almost naked from head to foot; in short, their appearance was such as I think would extort compassion from the most callous heart, but I declare they seemed insensible to shame or the wretchedness of their situation themselves. I begged they would get washed, and gave them what clothes I could conveniently spare.

"Falconbridge had a hut appropriated as a hospital where they were kept separate from the other settlers, and by his attention and care they recovered in a few weeks.

"I always supposed these people had been transported as convicts, but some conversation I lately had with one of the women has partly undeceived me. She said the women were mostly of that description of persons who walk the streets of London and support themselves by the earnings of prostitution; that men were employed to collect and conduct them to Wapping, where they were intoxicated with liquor, then inveigled on board a ship and married to *black men* whom they had never seen before; that the morning after she was married she did not remember a syllable of what happened over night, and when informed was obliged to inquire *who was her husband?* After this to the time of their sailing they were amused and buoyed up by a prodigality of fair promises and great expectations which awaited them in the country they were going to. 'Thus,' in her own words, 'to the disgrace of my mother country, upwards of one hundred unfortunate women, were seduced from England to practice their iniquities more brutally in this horrid country.'

"Good heaven: how the relation of this tale made me shudder. I questioned its veracity, and enquired of the other women who exactly corroborated what I had heard. Nevertheless I cannot altogether reconcile myself to believe it, for it

is scarcely possible that the British Government at this advanced and enlightened age, envied and admired as it is by the universe, could be capable of exercising or countenancing such a Gothic infringement on human Liberty."

What wonder that Lord Chancellor Thurlow, speaking in the House of Lords on 5th July, 1799, should say that "The Sierra Leone Company had done under the mask of piety and humanity those things that other persons would be ashamed of."*

How different the views of the Government on the question of colonization were a century earlier, may be gathered from the Colonial State Papers for the year 1660, which contain proposals of the Earl of Marlborough "to make Jamaica the staple for the sale of blacks, and to persuade the Royal African Company to send over women for planters' wives: Newgate and Bridewell to be spared as much as may be, and poor maids instead, with which few parishes in England are unburdened, sent over. The custom of the planter is to give, not to require anything with his wife."

On the 9th May, 1787, the transports reached Sierra Leone, when, owing to the death of Dr. Smeathman, the formation of the settlement was committed to Captain Thompson, R.N., who obtained from King Tom, the neighbouring chief, a grant of land about twenty miles square, for the sole benefit of the free community of settlers, their heirs and successors, extending from the watering place in Frenchman's Bay (since called St. George's Bay) up to Gambia Island. A site was chosen for the new township on a rising ground fronting the sea, and town lots of one acre each were marked out in streets.

The colonists landed on May the 14th, 1787, but the rainy season set in before they could finish their huts, which were, therefore, neither wind nor water-tight. This bad accommodation was the cause of very many deaths. By September the 13th, the provisions, the clothing, tools, etc., were entirely served out to the

* *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1827, p. 315. Letter from J. Macqueen to Under Secretary of State, dated 12th February, 1827.

We cannot trace this statement in the Parliamentary History of the Debate on the Slave Trade.—AUTHOR.

colonists, and on that day the arms and ammunition were sent on shore.

When Captain Thompson sailed for England on September the 16th, the colonists, who had numbered over four hundred, were reduced by death and starvation to 276, of whom five were white men and 29 white women, and 242 blacks.

After the first year no extraordinary mortality prevailed, and the settlers gradually improved in their circumstances. They were, however, too poor and too ignorant to avail themselves of all the natural advantages of the country, and so many had emigrated to the slave factories that in March, 1788, the community numbered only 130 in all.

In May, 1788, Mr. Granville Sharp chartered, at his own expense, the brig "Myro," a vessel of 160 tons, in which he shipped two months' provisions for fifty persons who had engaged to go out with clothing, arms, tools, etc., and a sum of money to buy live stock on the coast. The vessel sailed June the 6th, with thirty-nine persons, chiefly white people, on board, but did not arrive at Sierra Leone till the 6th August, and owing to deaths and other causes, only twenty passengers were landed in the colony. Sending out these supplies may be said to have preserved the infant colony, for on the vessel's arrival, the greater part of the wanderers returned.

The Grant of Land made by King Tom to Captain Thompson, Mr. Irwin the Agent Conductor, and Rev. P. Frazer, chaplain, being considered invalid, it having been purchased from people who had no authority to sell it, a confirmation of that grant was obtained from King Naimbanna, the chief of Sierra Leone, on 22nd August, 1788. A copy of the Treaty entered into, as well as a list of the presents made in consideration of the purchase, is given in the Appendix* to acquaint the reader with the general wording of such treaties, and the description of goods imported at that time from Europe for trading purposes.

Up to this time the lands upon which the English forts had been erected on the African coast were generally only rented off the native chief, whereas the land

* *Vide* Appendix B.

obtained at Sierra Leone was purchased and given up by the native chief, for ever, to the Crown of England.

Sierra Leone, therefore, became English territory, and in this respect is really a colony, and so differs from the other West African Colonies, which were all formed as trading stations. When the first settlers arrived in Sierra Leone, the only portions of West Africa under British protection were the trading establishments on the Gold Coast belonging to the African Company of Merchants. The settlements at Bathurst, Gambia, date from 1816, and the colony of Lagos only from the year 1861.

Towards the end of the year 1789, when the colony was progressing, the colonists were attacked by a body of natives, and their town burnt on account of their being involved (though not through their own fault) in the consequences of a dispute between the natives and the crew of H. M. Ship "Pomona," Captain Savage, who had set fire to the town of a neighbouring chief. This attack was a great blow to the colonists, who, having lost their houses and their little property, took refuge in Bob's Island, belonging to the Bance factory, and at Chief Pa Boson's town, about twelve miles from Bance Island.

Mr. Sharp's interest in the new settlement did not terminate with the sending out supplies, for he states, in a letter of November, 1789, to the Worthy Inhabitants of Granville Town, in the Province of Freedom, Sierra Leone, "I am exerting myself as much as possible, to engage several respectable merchants and gentlemen to form a Company, in order to carry out an honourable trade with the Coast of Africa, and I have at least great hopes of success."

In 1790, a Company was formed in England called the "St. George's Bay Company," and a memorial was addressed to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to grant to it his Royal Charter of Incorporation.

The objects announced by the Company were, "to colonize a small part of the coast of Africa, to introduce civilization among the natives, and to cultivate the soil by means of free labour, at the same time abjuring all concerns whatever in the odious traffic of human bodies, and binding itself neither to deal in slaves, nor

to allow of any slave trade in the territory ; to maintain peace unless attacked ; to punish crimes ; to govern all equally according to the laws of England ; to open schools for reading, writing, and accounts, and to receive and instruct the children of the natives, if sent to the schools."

Whilst awaiting the grant of the Charter it was recommended that the Company should send out factors and agents to St. George's Bay, the principal harbour of the new territory, in order to carry on a trade in British manufactures with the neighbouring natives. Accordingly, in January, 1791, Mr. Alexander Falconbridge, who had made four voyages to West Africa, as surgeon of slave ships, was sent out as chief agent with instructions to examine and report on the state of the colony, and to afford a temporary relief to the distress that had ensued, until the grant of the Charter should enable the Directors to take more effective measures for the prosperity of the settlement.

Mr. Falconbridge on arrival found only forty-eight of the colonists living together. They were warmly attached to their European friends, and ready to concur in any measures for their mutual security. Sixteen more soon joined them from other parts. This remnant of the first settlers became merged in the general population, and no further account of them is to be found, beyond that of the Commissioners in 1827, who stated that not more than six or eight of them were then in the colony.

After a palaver held with the king and chiefs, it was agreed that the colonists should not build on the original site. The restored colony was accordingly placed at a small village of seventeen huts near Fourah Bay, which had been deserted by the natives from superstitious motives. The place was named Granville Town, after their friend and benefactor Granville Sharp, at whose instance they were provided with the relief now afforded them.

Before Mr. Falconbridge left for England, in June, 1791, the colonists had cleared and planted about four English acres of land, and on the whole, he thought, they would support themselves, as before dispersion, with very little labour.

King Naimbanna's son* accompanied Mr. Falconbridge to England for the purpose of being instructed in the Christian religion, and in the ways of civilization. The Prince was welcomed on arrival by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, who had his picture taken and sent out to his father. After a sojourn of two years in England, on hearing of the death of his father, the Prince returned to Sierra Leone in one of the Company's ships, which was named after him, the "Naimbanna," but he died as his ship entered Freetown Harbour, in July, 1793, at the age of thirty.

* In relation to this matter, we learn from Lady Knutford's *Life of Zachary Macaulay* that Naimbanna "was an African native of uncommon intelligence. He observed the superiority of Europeans, and attributed the barbarous state of his own people to the difference of their religion. He was, however, much perplexed, when his inquiries led to the discovery of there being various forms of religion in the civilized world, and, after much deliberation, finally hit upon a singular method of solving his difficulties. He requested the Sierra Leone Company to send his son to England to be instructed there. A second was despatched to Turkey with orders to become a Mohammedan; while the Roman Catholics took charge of a third, who was brought up in Portugal. The results of the education thus bestowed were to determine Naimbanna in the choice of a religion for his subjects."

We regret that we cannot give the results of this curious idea.

CHAPTER III.

THE SETTLEMENT OF SIERRA LEONE FOUNDED, AND ITS GOVERNMENT BY THE SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, 1792.

Charter granted to the Sierra Leone Company—Free negroes in Nova Scotia desire to join the Colony—Terms on which the Company engaged to receive them—Arrival of Europeans at Sierra Leone—Meetings of Council—The first town to be named Freerown—Lieutenant Clarkson proceeds to Nova Scotia—Arrival of Nova Scotians at Sierra Leone—Lieutenant Clarkson appointed Superintendent of the Colony—Governor Clarkson visits King Jemmy—Description of King Jemmy's Town—King Naimbanna visits the Governor—Confusion in the Colony—State of affairs represented—Great mortality among the Settlers—Allotments of Land—The Old Settlers come under protection of Company—Change in the Government of the Colony—Governor Clarkson's departure—The natives in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.

WHILE Mr. Falconbridge was attempting to retrieve the ruinous state of affairs in the colony, the members of the St. George's Bay Association, despite the opposition of the West Indian planters, obtained a Charter of Incorporation in July, 1791 (31 George III., cap. 55), under the name of "The Sierra Leone Company," for carrying on trade between Great Britain and Africa, and to enable the Company to hold by grant from his Majesty and from the native Princes of Africa, a certain district of land called the Peninsula of Sierra Leone, bounded on the north by the river Sierra Leone, on the south by the river Camaranca, on the east by the river Bance, and on the west by the sea.

The duration of the Act was limited to thirty-one years from the 1st day of July, 1791.

In accordance with the Act, a court of directors, consisting of thirteen persons, chosen by the members from among themselves every year, was to be invested with the management of the Company's affairs, and the members of the Company in general court had full power by majority of votes to make laws and ordinances for the good government of the Company. At the same time, the Company's agents and servants were prohibited from engaging in the slave trade, and

appropriating or employing slaves in their service ; but British subjects or their agents were not to be prevented by the Company from purchasing ivory, wax, camwood, and provisions from the natives, or procuring fruit, firewood, and water, as heretofore. The Company's capital was about £230,000, and among the names of the proprietors were Granville Sharp, Samuel Whitbread, Henry Thornton, and other leading abolitionists.

The Directors, persuaded that the usefulness and even the security of the establishment of which they had undertaken the care, would to a great extent depend on an increase in the number of settlers, were preparing measures to effect that purpose, when an opportunity offered which appeared to meet their wishes of strengthening the colony by an additional body of free negroes from Nova Scotia, acquainted with the English language, and accustomed to the labour of hot climates.

A negro named Peters arrived in England from Nova Scotia as a delegate from a number of his countrymen. These men, during the American war, had been induced to enlist in the British army by the King's proclamation of freedom to all slaves who should join the Royal Standard. After the war they were carried to Nova Scotia, where they were promised allotments of land, which, it appears, they never received ; but the climate of Nova Scotia being unfavourable to them, they were now desirous of joining the new colony at Sierra Leone.

The Directors applied to the Government to know if it would defray the expense of their passage, and, on obtaining a promise of assistance, availed themselves of the offer of Lieutenant Clarkson, Royal Navy, to bring the new colonists over to Sierra Leone. Mr. Clarkson was the younger brother of Thomas Clarkson the philanthropist. He entered the Royal Navy at the age of eleven, and soon afterwards proceeded to the West Indies. He took part in several engagements with the French fleet, and the scenes of slaughter he had witnessed in early years left an impression on his mind, which eventually led him to question the moral legality of war, and finally resulted in his retiring from the naval profession at an early age. Mr. Clarkson had

assisted his brother and Mr. Wilberforce, in the Abolition cause, furnishing reports on slave dealing from Havre de Grace, then the great slave port in France.

The terms upon which the Company engaged to receive the free blacks into the colony were contained in a printed declaration dated London, 2nd August, 1791.

Every free black, upon production of satisfactory testimonials of character (more particularly as to honesty, sobriety, and industry), was to have a free grant of not less than twenty acres of land for himself, ten acres for his wife, and five for every child. It was stipulated also that for all stores, provisions, etc., supplied, the Company should receive an equitable compensation; that the civil, military, personal and commercial rights and duties of blacks and whites should be the same; and that it should not be lawful to deal or traffic in the buying or selling of slaves. To these terms the free blacks agreed.

In order to provide for the security of the persons and property of the settlers, the Directors resolved that three or four vessels should sail at once, with such a number of people as would be able to protect and assist each other, and with them were despatched goods both for trade and for the supply of the settlement. According, three vessels left England, having on board 119 whites (including women and children), consisting of eight counsellors for the government of the settlement, a number of upper and lower servants of the Company, sixteen soldiers, and eighteen settlers.

The first of the Company's ships to arrive in the Sierra Leone river was the "Harpy," and on 13th February, 1792, a messenger was despatched to acquaint King Naimbanna of the vessel's arrival. Upon the following day a council was held on board, and it was resolved that the king should be informed that as soon as the cargo could be broken in upon, certain presents from the Directors of the Company would be delivered to him.

At a meeting of council held on board the Company's ship "Amy," a few days later, it was agreed that the first town (named Freetown, in accordance with the instructions of the Directors of the Company) should be erected on the place at first occupied by the old settlers

near St. George's Bay, that being a healthy situation from being exposed to a good sea breeze, affording a plentiful supply of fresh water, and a good anchorage for shipping. On the opposite bank of the river was the Bullom country, whilst that of the Quiahs formed the eastern boundary. To the south lay the Sherbro district, which subsequently became an important part of the colony.

Lieutenant Clarkson proceeded to Nova Scotia in August, 1791. His labours there were incessant. He travelled hundreds of miles to find out the black poor, who were scattered in hamlets all over the country. Instead of there being between three hundred and four hundred Nova Scotians, as they were designated, to be embarked, the number proved to be 1,196. The whole body waited several weeks in tents at Halifax for the collection of the transports, which were to convey them to Africa, during which time they were exposed to great inclemency of weather, and contracted much sickness. However, they were all accommodated in sixteen vessels; which set sail in the beginning of January, 1792, arriving at Sierra Leone early in March. Sixty-five blacks died during the passage, from fever, and of the 1,131 landed, forty died within a few weeks.

The new-comers set about clearing the bush and laying out a town, but the houses were only small, temporary huts, built in haste, and all of the common materials of the country. A public wharf and warehouse were likewise begun.

Lieutenant Clarkson's proceedings in Nova Scotia having given great satisfaction, he was requested to fill the office of Governor, and at a council on 10th March, he took oath that he would serve the Sierra Leone Company in the capacity of superintendent of the colony, to the best of his skill and power.

Governor Clarkson always tried to promote friendly relations with the natives, as is evidenced by his visits to King Jemmy and King Naimbanna. We learn from his diary* that

"King Jemmy† has been extremely shy since our arrival, and does not appear disposed to visit us, or to place any confidence

* *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, by the Right Rev. E. G. Ingham, D.D.

† King Jemmy was a vassal of King Naimbanna.

in us. Thinking it right to remove these feelings, I paid him a private visit this morning for the first time by landing at a path leading directly to his town; the king being apprised of my intention, received me with civility. It was thought best for me to go with only two or three attendants than to pay him a formal visit. The king speaks a little English, and said he was glad to see me: but I evidently saw that he felt uncomfortable, though he endeavoured to appear otherwise. He has not yet forgotten the dispute he had with Captain Savage (in 1788) and the loss sustained by both sides, for he has been extremely cautious of trusting himself with white men ever since. Mutual civilities took place; he offered me some wine and water, and, putting his glass to his own mouth first, gave it to me afterwards. This is a custom of the country to show that you may take it with safety. I wished him his health and prosperity and happiness to his country. We shook hands with each other, and I said I should be glad to see him and be better acquainted. In the evening I sent him a small present of wine.

"The town he inhabits consists of about forty or fifty huts, irregularly placed, and interspersed with palm, banana, plantain, orange, lime, paw-paw, and cola trees, which, in a great measure, supply the natives with food. The houses are built in a circular form, and have a pyramidal roof: the outer stakes which form them are wattled together with small twigs, and afterwards plastered inside with mud: the roof or eave of the house projects about two or three feet beyond the sides, forming a pleasant shade, under which the natives sit without being exposed to the scorching heat of the sun. To each of these houses are two doors, which are placed exactly opposite to each other. The space inside is rarely, if ever, divided into compartments. The usual dress of the natives is a small piece of cotton cloth, fastened round the waist and brought between the legs. Sometimes the men will wear a loose kind of shirt over this, but the women are almost naked. The king was dressed in an old naval captain's uniform."

Shortly after the visit to King Jemmy, the Governor paid a similar compliment to King Naimbanna, by sending one of the Company's vessels to fetch him to the Colony. On this occasion the Governor went on board to meet the King, about two miles from Freetown, and gave orders before leaving the settlement for the Company's ship to salute and give three cheers when the vessel with the King on board passed them, and also for the whole population of the Colony to be under arms to salute the King when he landed. The meeting be-

tween Lieutenant Clarkson and this chief is best described in the Governor's own words : —*

"When King Naimbanna, of Robanna Island, came upon the 'Lapwing's' deck to be introduced to me, his dress was a sky-blue silk jacket, with silver lace, striped cotton trousers, ruffled shirt, green morocco slippers, a cocked hat with gold lace and a white cotton cap, for which a large, old judge's wig was afterwards substituted. He had a belt round his neck from which hung the figure of a lamb bearing a cross set with rays formed of paste. Upon the king's coming on deck we embraced each other. He asked me how King George did, and said he was a very good friend of his, that he was glad to see me, and hoped we should be good friends. He appeared greatly surprised when he first saw me, and could scarcely keep from laughing, but he soon recovered by exclaiming 'that he had never seen so young a king before.'

"The king, queen, and two of their daughters, Signor Domingo, a chief, and the king's interpreter, dined with the Governor and the principal officers of the Sierra Leone Company, and appeared highly gratified at the attention shown them. The king spoke and understood a little English, but on matters of business, he always spoke through his interpreter."

We meet with a curious account of Z. Macaulay's visit to the Signor Domingo here referred to, in June, 1793, in Lady Knutford's "Life and Letters" of that gentleman, which may, perhaps, prove of interest here :—

"I visited Signor Domingo and found him at dinner with Pa Sirey, who is nominated King of Logo, and a Maraboo or Mahommedan Priest, whom he has at present employed in assisting at his sacrifices to the devil. Their meal consisted of nothing but rice moistened with palm oil and washed down with water from the spring. The warm admirers of patriarchal simplicity might here have gratified their taste, but I felt no inclination to change a piece of cold mutton and a bottle of wine I had with me, for the honour of dining on rice and palm oil, even with majesty. Signor Domingo reads the Portuguese language fluently. After dinner he produced his Mass book, and prayed with seeming devotion for some time, and he gave me to understand that it is a constant practice with him morning and evening, to pray to God. He expressed great concern that for some years past he had seen no priest to whom

* From Governor Clarkson's Diary in *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years*, by Right Rev. E. G. Ingham, D.D.

he might confess his sins, and from whom he might receive absolution."

But the state of affairs in the Colony was disastrous, for before five weeks of the Governor's administration had ended, we read* that

" . . . there, is much confusion and mismanagement in the colony . . . the working parties are seldom attended as they ought to be, and the slightest indisposition is an excuse for neglect in every department.

"Provisions are getting very short, and unless we have a speedy supply the dissatisfaction in the colony will increase. The Council are daily seeing the dreadful confusion existing through their means with apparent indifference. . . . The ladies in the colony by their mutual jealousies and absurd notions of their rank and consequence, give rise to many private piques, which often cause open dissensions amongst the gentlemen, and the mischief they have occasioned from the time the ships left the Downs to the present day cannot be estimated.

" . . . The Nova Scotians are very anxious to have their lots of land laid out, which it is not in my power to comply with, from the general confusion in the colony, the state of the weather, and many other obstacles.

" . . . If putrid fevers do not break out amongst us, unsheltered as we are from the rain, crowded, and living upon salt provisions, it will be owing to a particular interposition of Providence.

" . . . It is distressing to me to see the poor Nova Scotians (who look up to me as their best friend) in their present deplorable state, their houses not covered in, sickness generally prevailing, and many of them appearing scorbutic. They related to me all their grievances and wants, but from the situation of the colony it is not in my power to comply with many of their requests. I am additionally plagued and perplexed at the inconsiderate conduct of some of the Council, who, though they do not openly contradict what I may have ordered for the good of the colony, yet they appear to thwart my measures in various ways."

On 18th April, 1792, Governor Clarkson, in a letter to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, informed him that he thought it absolutely necessary to the Company's service, to despatch the chaplain to England, to repre-

* From Governor Clarkson's Diary, *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years* (Ingham).

sent to him in person the state of affairs in the Colony, adding : —*

"Had you appointed a Council invested with such powers as are given to the gentlemen whom you have sent out, three or four years hence, after the colony had been well settled, and everything going on well, no inconvenience might have arisen : but, in the present state of things, such a measure appears to be most improper. The present consequences are confusion and disorder ; and the future, if not prevented by a speedy alteration, will, I fear, be ruined. Eight gentlemen, all invested with great power, each of them acting from himself, and none of them accountable to the other, form, to be sure, a system of government as pregnant with contradictions and inconsistencies as can be imagined : in such a government there can be nothing but tardiness in Council and obstruction in all its operations. . . . One orders this thing, and another that ; one does not know what the other does. The people are perplexed with the multitude of governors, and scarcely know whom to obey. . . . Nothing is done according to my views, and I have no authority to alter what I disapprove. The people are murmuring and discontented, and I am fretting and wearing myself out to no effect. . . . Vice and every species of wickedness and discontent are spreading in the colony from so many people living together, having nothing to do, and their provisions found them. . . .

"And as to the officers, they have been ruined from being placed in situations they were never calculated to fill : and their brains have been turned from being allowed to wear a flaming sword and cockade, with a fine coat and epaulette, when a jacket and trousers would have been more consistent for those employed in forming a new colony."

The rains of this year (1792), which began in May, found the colonists to a great extent unprovided with protection against them. The consequences were most fatal ; fever of the worst kind raged among Europeans and Africans. About three hundred blacks were stricken at one time. In the height of the sickness, all the medical staff, with but one exception, were laid up, so that very few of the sick could be properly attended. The storekeepers were some of the first victims ; increasing difficulty and confusion in the delivery from the stores were the consequence. The doors of the store-house were continually crowded, but neither food, nor physic,

* From Governor Clarkson's Diary in *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years* (Ingham).

nor other necessities for the sick, could be properly distributed, and the sufferings of the people consequently increased. About one-half of the Europeans living on shore, and nearly one-tenth of the Nova Scotians, died at this dreadful season.

When the sickness began to abate, allotments of land were made to the settlers, according to agreement, they consenting to accept four acres each at first, the right being reserved to them of claiming the remainder as it should be wanted. So great was the labour of measuring out the ground that a considerable portion of the dry season was nearly over before the survey of the lots could be completed.

Early in August, Governor Clarkson invited the old settlers at Granville Town to join the people at Free-town in the drawing for the lots of land, and to come under the protection of the Sierra Leone Company. They readily agreed to do this, and the date, 14th August, 1792, upon which the satisfactory reply was received from them, "the Governor looked upon as the foundation of the Colony."*

Governor Clarkson's representations to the Court of Directors, of the necessity of making a thorough change in the Government of the Colony, received due attention at their hands, for towards the end of August, a circular letter addressed to every individual officer was received in the Colony, notifying that the charge of all the affairs—civil, military, commercial, and political—of the Company, was vested in Governor Clarkson and two Councillors.

Governor Clarkson was also informed that the two Councillors appointed to assist him were Mr. W. Dawes, a Lieutenant of Marines, who had been at Botany Bay and Port Jackson, from the first foundation of that Colony, and Mr. Z. Macaulay, a very capable manager of an estate, who had left Jamaica for Sierra Leone.

This action on the part of the Court of Directors improved the state of the Government materially, and as the second dry season advanced, the Colony improved in all respects.

Governor Clarkson, not having pledged himself to remain longer than a year in Sierra Leone, made up his

* From Governor Clarkson's Diary in *Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years* (Ingham)

mind in December to leave it, and to lay before the Court of Directors an account of the general condition of affairs. On Sunday, the 16th December, after Divine Service in the little church at Free Town, he ascended the pulpit and took public leave of the settlers he had ruled with so much gentleness and parental kindness, and on the last day of the year 1792, he sailed for England.

The foundation of the Colony was laid.

Whilst we have in the preceding pages a fairly accurate picture of the settlers at Sierra Leone in the early days of the Colony, but little has been said of the natives of the country surrounding it. Doctor Winterbottom, the Colonial Surgeon about this time, has left us an account of the natives of the Bullom and Timini towns, which is worth reproducing, inasmuch as the account is as true to-day as it was a century ago. He writes as follows : —

“ They are, in general, of mild, external manners, but they possess a great share of pride, and are easily affected by an insult; they cannot hear even a harsh expression or a raised tone of voice without showing that they feel it. As a proof that they are not deficient in natural affection, one of the severest insults which can be offered to an African is to speak disrespectfully of his mother, which is called ‘cursing her’; that they do not feel so very acutely an insult offered to their father is a natural consequence of polygamy. The respect which they pay to old people is very great, and perhaps was not exceeded at Lacedæmon.

“ The hospitality of the Africans has been noticed by almost every traveller who has been much among them. In travelling through many parts of their country, when overpowered with heat, fatigue, and hunger, I have ever met with a welcome and hospitable reception on arriving at their villages: mats have been brought out for myself and friends to repose on: and if it happened to be meal time, we have been at liberty to join them without ceremony, or to wait till something better could be provided. If we intended to spend the night there, a house has been set apart for us, and, on taking leave in the morning, a guide has generally offered to show us on our way. Indeed, so far does the spirit of hospitality prevail, that a traveller or stranger, as they call him, is scarcely accountable for any faults which he may commit, whether through inadvertency or design, the host being considered as responsible for the actions of ‘his stranger.’ The entrance into a Bullom or Timini town, and in general into the small towns or villages of all the other nations, affords a gratifying picture of African manners. As soon as a

stranger is observed, all the inhabitants quit their occupations, and hasten to shake him by the hand, repeating several times the word 'senno' welcome. Even the children, who can barely lisp a welcome, when a little custom has diminished the dread attending a white face, are eager to discharge this duty of hospitality, and with a smile hold out their little hands, and seem delighted if he deigns but to notice them."

Doctor Winterbottom also gives us a sketch of the schools for the Mohammedan children, which is as accurate at this time as it was when he penned his description. Every visitor to the Mohammedan tribes round Sierra Leone must have noticed such a scene as that which follows : —

"In the schools instituted by the Mohammedans for the instruction of children in Arabic literature, the boys read, or rather shout, their lessons as loud as possible. As they read aloud all together, the noise they make in getting their lessons may be heard at some distance. The boys begin their studies at least an hour before daylight in the morning, and protract them till late at night, taking some respite during the middle of the day. In the dry season, before sunrise and after sunset, they generally sit in the open air round a large fire which affords them light, and for its support each scholar brings a bundle of faggots. Their lessons are written with ink which washes out by means of a reed cut in the form of a pen, upon their smooth pieces of wood of a close grain like beech ; the letters are first written, then the combinations of letters, and lastly, passages of the Koran."*

The sight of the Mohammedan boys at their lessons often reminded us of the seat of learning for the Catholic children in Ireland a century ago, when the scholar brought his two sods of turf to the hedge school, and sat on the bare earth round the turf fire, while rehearsing lessons.

As to the beauty of the scenery in the midst of which Freetown stood, and its suitability for the purpose for which it was acquired, both Winterbottom and Golbéry, the French traveller, who explored the West Coast of Africa in 1785-7, are unanimous, the latter closing his description of the Bay of Sierra Leone in these words :

"Europe, indeed, offers more brilliant and richer views, and Switzerland and the Alps more stupendous appearances, but nowhere can be found a more charming situation than the Bay of Sierra Leone."†

* *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, Thomas Winterbottom, M.D., 1803.

† *Fragments d'un Voyage*, Golbéry.

CHAPTER IV.

GOVERNMENT BY THE SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, 1793-1807.

Mr. Dawes assumes the Government—The Colony divided into Tithings—Insurrection of Nova Scotian Settlers—Destruction of Company's store ship—Embassy to Foulah Country—Mr. Macaulay assumes the Government—The Colony attacked by French Squadron. Progress of the Colony—Retirement of Mr. Z. Macaulay—Mr. Ludlam assumes the Government—Charter granted to the Colony—Second Insurrection of Nova Scotian Settlers—Arrival of the Maroons—The Colony attacked by the Timinis—Second attack by the Timinis—Gambia Island taken possession of by Sierra Leone Company—Silver and Paper Currency.

UPON Governor Clarkson's departure, Mr. William Dawes, member of Council, assumed the Government of the Colony.

At a Council held on 31st December, 1792, it was resolved, the more effectually to preserve law and order, to divide Freetown and Granville Town into Tithings, or districts of ten families, according to the old English system of "Frank-pledge," the heads of which chose annually a Tithingman, who guarded the interests and controlled the behaviour of ten neighbouring families, and the Tithingmen elected a Hundreder to superintend ten Tithings.

All regulations for the community were laid by the Governor and Council before the Tithingmen and Hundreders.

Servants of the Company acted as Justices, and Courts of Sessions were held every three months, at which offences and suits for debt were tried by a jury, before two or three justices. Two Marshals were appointed, one for Freetown, the other for Granville Town, who summoned juries and executed the sentences of the Court.

In the first year of the Settlement the Nova Scotians had their grievances against the Company, but during Mr. Dawes' administration complaints ran so high against him for oppression, the high price of goods at the Company's warehouses (the worst being sold, and

the rum watered), the inadequate wages paid for labour, and the disappointment of some promises made in Nova Scotia, that the settlers sent two delegates to England to lay their grievances before the Court of Directors. The Directors judged the representations of the petitioners to be wholly founded on error. This decision did not tend to promote the peace of the Settlement, and on the return of the delegates to Sierra Leone an insurrection broke out which menaced the life of the Governor and the safety of the Colony, but which was happily suppressed without bloodshed. Six of the insurgents who were considered as the ringleaders, were removed from the Colony and an amnesty was granted to the rest. Doubtless, the feeling against Mr. Dawes arose from his severe manner, so entirely different from that of Clarkson, a manner which was created by his military education, and accentuated probably by his services in the convict Settlement of Botany Bay.

Towards the close of the year (1793) the "York" store ship, of 800 tons burthen, used as a floating factory, and freighted with a cargo of African produce valued at £15,000, unfortunately caught fire in the harbour of Sierra Leone, and the goods were entirely destroyed. This was a heavy loss to the Company and the Colonists.

Mr. Zachary Macaulay, in his letter of 30th November, 1793, gives the following account of this disaster.*

"The transactions of this day was marked by the most signal calamity that has yet befallen your colony. Between nine and ten in the morning we were alarmed by the cry of fire, and on looking out beheld the 'York' in a blaze. Before eleven o'clock the fire had completely ransacked her hold, and the loss is very great indeed, upwards of £4,000 worth of African produce has been destroyed.

"Captain Telford had come on shore to settle his monthly accounts. The fire began in the chimney of the galley, and all those on deck, who were mostly Grumettas, got into the boat without wasting a thought on those who were in the cabin and gun-room. The bustle on deck, however, alarmed Captain Wallace, who was in the cabin, and the gentlemen in the gun-room who were arranging some of the trade goods. They ran up, and found to their astonishment the fire blazing over their

* *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay* by Viscountess Knutsford.

heads, having run along the tarred awning from stem to stern, and everybody gone over the side. After trying in vain to prevail on the people in the boat to assist them, they were at length forced to descend to avoid being scorched to death. While this passed on board Captain Telford got into a boat, a number of settlers accompanying him, with a view of extinguishing the fire. But the people absolutely refused to pull him alongside pretending fear of gunpowder. He assured them there was no gunpowder on board, entreated, prayed, and threatened in turn, but all to no purpose, and he had the mortification to be forced to be an inactive spectator of the conflagration. You will ask what did Captain Devereux and his crew do all this time. It is certain no exertion was made by the 'Harpy's' people, although the fire was perceived in its early stages. Everything was done which could be done, unassisted as Telford was, except by Day, and Rowe, the mate of the 'York.'

"The Settlers, it would naturally be supposed, felt great concern, and exerted themselves on behalf of their benefactors. Many of them did so, but at the same time there were many who acted very differently. Some were rejoicing in the calamity as a just judgment of heaven on their oppressors. Some said it was but right that the goods, withheld unjustly from them by the Governor and Council, should be destroyed, and that their sinister aims should thus be frustrated. They declared the 'York' to be the repository where Mr. Dawes' gains and mine were stored; and others more daring scrupled not to attempt converting to their own use what could be saved from the wreck.

"Some of the more respectable Settlers, ashamed of these proceedings, offered themselves as a guard, and have promised to furnish a list of those who were guilty of any improprieties, with a list of witnesses, so that they may be prosecuted. They have even promised to mark out such as seemed to rejoice in the misfortune, and such as by their insinuations would have vilified Mr. Dawes' character or mine.

"It has been, indeed, a sweeping fire; there is not the vestige of an account left. I had been at considerable pains in arranging the commercial accounts, but they perished in the general conflagration."

Notwithstanding this disaster and the inconvenience caused by the loss of the stores of merchandize, upon being informed by some of the Foulahs that their King was desirous of trading with the Colony, early in 1794, Messrs. Watt and Winterbottom, in the service of the Sierra Leone Company, were sent by the Governor and Council on an embassy to Timbo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom, where they remained fourteen days.

They were well received, and the king sent a strong escort with them on their return journey, which was made by a different route to that on which they had travelled to Timbo. The country through which they passed was fairly fertile, and abounding in cattle. The journey appears to be the first important attempt on the part of the English Colonists to secure friendly relations with the natives of the interior, and to open up trade. The existing records of this interesting journey are very meagre, which is much to be regretted, but a deputation of chiefs arrived in Freetown about the same time as the travellers, and trade communication was opened up with the Colony, which has continued, more or less, ever since. The Foulahs are an intelligent Mohammedan race, and are skilled in iron work, mining for the iron, and in the manufacture of cloth and leather goods. Their principal trade with the coast is in salt.

Ill health compelled Governor Dawes to leave Sierra Leone at the end of March, 1794, and upon his departure, Mr. Zachary Macaulay, second in Council assumed the Government. Macaulay became Governor at the early age of twenty-six, but his experience of a slave population in Jamaica from his sixteenth year, and the fact that he had visited Sierra Leone in January, 1791, prior to the arrival there of the Nova Scotian settlers, eminently fitted him for this office. When he took over the Government, the anxieties of his position which were sufficiently great in themselves, were considerably increased by the fact that the settlers were turbulent and disaffected; and an insurrection broke out, which he promptly quelled by decisive action. The ring-leaders were sent to England for trial, but Macaulay displayed great courage in granting an amnesty to the rest of the insurgents.

Trevelyan, in his "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay," describes the position at this time:

"The directors had done well to secure a tried man. The Colony was at once exposed to the implacable enmity of merchants whose market the agents of the new company spoiled in their capacity of traders and slave dealers with whom they interfered in their character of philanthropists. The native tribes in the vicinity, instigated by European hatred and

jealousy, began to inflict upon the defenceless authorities of the Settlement a series of those monkey-like impertinences which, absurdly as they may read in a narrative, are formidable and ominous when they indicate that savages feel their power. These barbarians, who had hitherto commanded as much rum and gunpowder as they cared to have by selling their neighbours at the nearest barracoon, showed no appreciation for the comforts and advantages of civilization. Indeed, those advantages were displayed in anything but an attractive shape even within the pale of the Company's territory. An aggregation of negroes from Jamaica, London, and Nova Scotia, who possessed no language except an acquired jargon, and shared no associations beyond the recollections of a common servitude, were not very promising apostles for the spread of western culture and the Christian faith. Things went smoothly enough as long as the business of the Colony was mainly confined to eating the provisions that had been brought in the ships; but as soon as the work became real and the commons short, the whole community smouldered down into chronic mutiny.

"Zachary Macaulay was the very man for such a crisis. To a rare fund of patience and self-command and perseverance, he united a calm courage that was equal to any trial. These qualities were no doubt inherent in his disposition; but no one except those who have turned over his voluminous private journals can understand what constant effort, and what incessant watchfulness, went to maintain throughout a long life, a course of conduct, and a temper of mind, which gave every appearance of being the spontaneous fruit of Nature.

" . . . Mr. Macaulay was admirably adapted for the arduous and uninviting task of planting a negro colony. His very deficiencies stood him in good stead: for, in presence of the elements with which he had to deal, it was well for him that Nature had denied him any sense of the ridiculous. Unconscious of what was absurd around him, and incapable of being flurried, frightened, or fatigued, he stood as a centre of order and authority amidst the seething chaos of inexperience and insubordination.

"The staff was miserably insufficient, and every officer of the Company had to do duty for three in a climate such that a man is fortunate if he can find health for the work of one during a continuous twelve month. The Governor had to be in the countinghouse, the law court, the school, and even the chapel. He was his own secretary, his own paymaster, his own envoy. He posted ledgers, he decided causes, he conducted correspondence with the Directors at home, and visited neighbouring potentates on diplomatic missions which made up in danger what they lacked in dignity. In the absence of properly qualified clergymen, with whom he would have been the last to put himself in competition, he preached sermons and performed marriages—a function which must have given honest satis-

faction to one who had been so close a witness of the enforced and systematised immorality of a slave-nursery. Before long something fairly resembling order was established, and the Settlement began to enjoy a reasonable measure of prosperity. The town was built, the fields were planted, and the schools filled. The Governor made a point of allotting the lightest work to the negroes who could read and write: and such was the stimulating effect of this system upon education that he confidently looked forward 'to the time when there would be few in the Colony unable to read the Bible. A printing press was in constant operation, and in the use of a copying machine the little community was three-quarters of a century ahead of the London public offices.'"

In spite of the promise of the French not to molest the small Settlement, a more serious disaster befell the new Colony, shortly after this, which is best described in Lord Macaulay's Life.

"But a severe ordeal was in store for the nascent civilization of Sierra Leone. On a Sunday morning in September, 1794, eight French sail appeared off the coast. The town was about as defensible as Brighton, and it is not difficult to imagine the feelings which the sansculottes inspired among Evangelical colonists whose last advices from Europe dated from the very height of the reign of terror. There was a party in favour of escaping into the forest with as much property as could be removed at so short a notice, but the Governor insisted that there would be no chance of saving the Company's buildings unless the Company's servants could make up their minds to remain at their posts and face it out. The squadron moved within musket shot of the quay, and swept the streets for two hours with grape and bullets: a most gratuitous piece of cruelty that killed a negress and a child, and gave one unlucky Englishman a fright which ultimately brought him to his grave. The invaders then proceeded to land, and Mr. Macaulay had an opportunity of learning something about the condition of the French marine during the heroic period of the Republic.

"A personal enemy of his own, the captain of a Yankee slaver, brought a party of sailors straight to the Governor's house. What followed had best be told in Mr. Macaulay's own words. 'Newell, who was attended by half a dozen sansculottes, almost foaming with rage, presented a pistol to me, and with many oaths demanded instant satisfaction for the slaves who had run away from him to my protection. I made very little reply, but told him he must now *take* such satisfaction as he judged equivalent to his claims, as I was no longer master of my actions. He became so very outrageous that, after bearing with him a little while, I thought it most prudent to repair

myself to the French officer and request his safe conduct on board the commodore's ship. As I passed along the wharf the scene was curious enough. The Frenchmen, who had come ashore in filth and rags, were now many of them dressed out with women's shifts, gowns, and petticoats. Others had quantities of cloth wrapped about their bodies, or perhaps six or seven suits of clothes upon them at a time. The scene which presented itself on my getting on board the flagship was still more singular. The quarter deck was crowded by a set of ragamuffins whose appearance begged every previous description, and among whom I sought in vain for some one who looked like a gentleman. The stench and filth exceeded anything I had ever witnessed in any ship, and the noise and confusion gave me some idea of their famous Mountain. I was ushered into the commodore's cabin, who at least received me civilly. His name was Citizen Allemand. He did not appear to have the right of excluding any of his fellow-citizens even from this place. Whatever might be their rank they crowded into it and conversed familiarly with him.'

"Mr. Macaulay, who spoke French with ease and precision, in his anxiety to save the town, used every argument which might prevail on the Commodore, whose Christian name (if one may use such a phrase with reference to a patriot of the year two of the Republic) happened oddly enough to be the same as his own. He appealed, first to the traditional generosity of Frenchmen towards a fallen enemy, but soon discerned that the quality in question had gone out with the old order of things, if, indeed, it ever existed. He then represented that a people who professed to be waging war with the express object of striking off the fetters of mankind, would be guilty of flagrant inconsistency if they destroyed an asylum for liberated slaves; but the Commodore gave him to understand that sentiments which sounded very well in the Hall of the Jacobins were out of place on the West Coast of Africa. The Governor returned on shore to find the town already completely gutted. It was evident at every turn that, although the republican battalions might carry liberty and fraternity through Europe on the points of their bayonets, the republican sailors had found a very different use for the edge of their cutlasses."

Macaulay writes :—

"The sight of my own and of the Accountant's office almost sickened me. Every desk and every drawer and every shelf, together with the printing and copying presses, had been completely demolished in the search for money. The floors were strewn with types, and papers, and leaves of books, and I had the mortification to see a great part of my own labour and the labour of others for several years totally destroyed. At the other end of the house I found telescopes, hygrometers,

barometers, thermometers, and electrical machines lying about in fragments. The view of the town library filled me with lively concern. The volumes were tossed about and defaced with the utmost wantonness, and if they happened to bear any resemblance to Bibles they were torn in pieces and trampled on. The collection of natural curiosities next caught my eye. Plants, seeds, dried birds, insects, and drawings were scattered about in great confusion, and some of the sailors were in the act of killing a beautiful musk cat which they afterwards ate. Every house was full of Frenchmen who were hacking and destroying, and tearing up everything which they could not convert to their own use. The destruction of live stock on this and the following day was immense. In my yard alone they killed fourteen dozen of fowls, and there were not less than twelve hundred hogs shot in the town. It was unsafe to walk in the streets of Freetown during the forty-eight hours that followed its capture because the French crews, with too much of the Company's port wine in their heads to aim straight, were firing at the pigs of the poor freedmen over whom they had achieved such a questionable victory.

"Towards the middle of October the Republicans took their departure. The French never revisited Freetown. Indeed, they had left the place in such a condition that it was not worth their while to return. The houses had been carefully burned to the ground, and the live stock killed. Except the clothes on their backs and a little brandy and flour, the Europeans had lost everything they had in the world."

On 11th October, the French Commodore put on shore one hundred and twenty English seamen, his prisoners captured from British vessels. Disease made fearful ravages among them, three or four dying each day, and all the Doctors were sick.

The Colony was now again plunged into the calamitous situation, which the deficiency of provisions, and the want of proper shelter had before occasioned, but notwithstanding the Company's losses, their prospects were brightened at the blow given to the slave trade by the disabling of the English slave factories at Bance Island and the Isles de Los by the French.

When the Colony was again, upon its feet, Governor Macaulay quitted it to recruit his health, which had broken down. Mr. Dawes having arrived from England to take charge of the Government, Macaulay, on 6th May, 1795, took passage to Barbadoes in a slave ship, with the view of becoming personally acquainted with the horrors of the "Middle Passage," and from Barbadoes, made his way to England.

In March, 1796, Macaulay returned to Sierra Leone, and for the second time assumed the Government.

From this time the advance of the Colony seems to have been steady, and in 1798 we find that Freetown contained about three hundred houses, laid out with great regularity, besides some public buildings. Three wharfs had been erected. The Government House was completed: it stood on an eminence commanding the town and harbour protected by six pieces of cannon.

The inhabitants of the Colony numbered about twelve hundred, one half of whom were farmers, many were mechanics, and the rest followed various occupations, such as retail shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, etc. From one to two hundred of the neighbouring natives daily visited the town for the purpose of exchanging African produce for British manufactures; some of them coming in canoes a distance of from eighty to a hundred miles.

After three years' administration, Macaulay, whose health had broken down, resigned his post in April, 1799, taking with him to England twenty-five native children, with a view to their being educated there, to return to Africa as missionaries. The African children were settled at Clapham, under the eye of the Rector, but the climate proved fatal to the constitutions of the greater number. Macaulay liked the work because he liked those for whom he was working, and "but for the absence of an Eve, he regarded the West Coast of Africa as a veritable paradise." Upon reaching England, however, his interest in Sierra Leone did not cease. Received into the confidence and intimate friendship of the great Abolitionists, he continued his work for the benefit of the negro, and his position as Secretary of the Sierra Leone Company, which he received immediately on his return and held until Sierra Leone became a Crown Colony in 1808, enabled him to render important service to the Settlement towards whose prosperity he had already contributed in no small degree during his administration of its affairs.

Upon Governor Macaulay's departure, the Government was administered for a short time by Mr. John Gray, Member of Council (who died in 1807, at Bassia, where he had been trading as a slave dealer), but he was

soon replaced by Mr. Thomas Ludlam, who took charge of the Colony at the age of twenty-five.

Symptoms of an insurrectionary spirit, which had only been slumbering, more especially on the part of the Nova Scotians, induced the Directors to petition the Home Government for a Charter to increase the powers of the Governor and Council, who hitherto had been unarmed with any legal title to enforce their authority.

It was stated in the petition that the blacks from Nova Scotia and the natives who had been induced to reside in Sierra Leone, together with the few Europeans, settlers, formed a numerous and increasing Colony, and as the Company were about to receive under their protection nearly six hundred Maroons from the Island of Jamaica, and there was great want in the Colony of a proper and competent power and authority for governing it, and for the effectual administration of justice, that the granting of such powers to the Company would not only conduce to the manifest advantage of the Colony and its factories and settlements (which it was feared would not long exist without such powers), but would also tend to advance British interests in Africa.

A Charter was granted on 5th July, 1799, creating the Settlement an independent Colony, authorising the Directors to make laws not repugnant to those of England, and to appoint a Governor and Council with a similar power of making laws, subject to the revision of the Court of Directors. It placed the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the Governor and Council, but appointed a Mayor's Court for the determination of civil suits, and a Court of Requests for the recovery of small debts. Thomas Cox was appointed to be the first and modern Mayor of the town of Freetown, and George Ross, Alexander Smith, and Peregrine Francis Thorne, to be the first and modern Aldermen of Freetown. The Charter also admitted, both in civil and criminal cases, the right of trial by jury.

The Governor of Goree was to assist the Colony to the utmost of his power in any exigency, and a Detachment of the Royal African Corps was sent to Sierra Leone as an additional means of security.

Before, however, this Charter arrived, the insurgents, seeing that no time was to be lost in carrying out their scheme, which had for its object the complete overthrow

of the Company's authority, broke out into rebellion. Affairs were in the most critical state, the insurgents outnumbering the loyal settlers, and no alternative seemed left to the Governor, but to hazard an attack upon the rebels, when a most opportune occurrence rescued the Colony once more from impending destruction.

At the end of September, 1800, a large ship, the "Asia" transport, appeared in the river, having on board about five hundred and fifty Maroons (including women and children), from Nova Scotia, together with a detachment of forty-five soldiers under two officers of his Majesty's 24th Regiment. The insurgents were now attacked and routed, two of them were killed, and thirty-five taken prisoners, out of which number three were selected for trial and were executed; the rest were expelled the colony.

The Maroons were descended from the tribes inhabiting the Gold Coast, and were shipped from the slave station at Cormantine* to Jamaica. Having fled from their masters they lived in the mountainous parts of that island. A part of them having risen in arms against the colonists, carried on for some time a destructive warfare, but having been induced to surrender, they were removed to Nova Scotia. Their complaints of the coldness of the climate of North America, and the heavy expense of maintaining them there, at length determined the British Government to convey them to Sierra Leone.

By the terms upon which the Sierra Leone Company received the Maroons under their protection and government, it appears that each male who, at the time of his arrival in Africa, had attained the age of twenty-one, was to have three acres of land for himself, two for his wife, and one for each child; one-third of the quantity to be allotted within three months after his arrival, and the remainder before the end of the three first years of his residence. The land so allotted was to be confirmed by grant, in consideration of which, a yearly quit rent of twenty cents. per acre, was to be paid by the occupier to the Sierra Leone Company. Each holder of a grant of land was to have built a house for himself and family, to have cleared and cultivated at least one-fourth part of

* Cormantine, about sixteen miles east of Cape Coast Castle, the earliest British slave station on the Gold Coast.

his first allotment, within a year after his arrival, and before the end of the second year, to have three-fourths of it in cultivation, on pain of forfeiting his claim to any further grant ; and if by that time no part of the first allotment was in cultivation, the whole was then to revert to the Company. None of the married Maroons were allowed to increase the number of their wives, and those unmarried at the time of their arrival in Africa would not be permitted to have more wives than one.

It was originally intended to locate the Maroons either in the Banana Islands, about thirty miles south of Freetown, or on the Bullom shore, which forms the north side of the Sierra Leone River, but the circumstances under which they arrived induced an alteration in this respect, and lands were accordingly allotted to them at Granville Town.

In January, 1801, Mr. William Dawes returned to the Colony and governed it for the third time.

On 18th November, 1801, the peace of the Colony was again disturbed by the sudden attack about daybreak of a body of Timinis, headed by two of the Nova Scotian insurgents, who had effected their escape after the insurrection of the previous year. The assailants forced their way into the unfinished fort, within which the Governor's house was situated, and kept up a very destructive fire on those who advanced to repel them. In about fifteen minutes one officer and two soldiers of the African Corps, the Company's storekeeper, and nine settlers were killed, and Governor Dawes, four of the Company's officers, nine soldiers, and twenty-nine settlers, were wounded.

At length a small body of soldiers and settlers collected from different quarters, and headed by the Governor in person, gallantly pushed forward, and with the bayonet drove the enemy from the fort. The retreat of the assailants soon became general, and their loss was at least equal to that sustained by the defenders of the fort.

The enemy, though baffled in their enterprise, still maintained a threatening position to the westward of Freetown, apparently with the hope of recruiting their numbers. It became, therefore, an object of the first importance to dislodge them, and several successive expeditions undertaken with this view, in which the

Maroons assisted, were attended with such success, that by the 4th of December they had been completely driven from the district lying between the Settlement and Cape Sierra Leone, with scarcely any loss on the part of the Colony.

A truce was then effected with the natives and the peace of the Colony was restored. It was made a condition of peace that the district to the westward of Freetown, which had been possessed by King Tom, the principal aggressor in the war, should be ceded to the Sierra Leone Company.

Notwithstanding the truce concluded with the Timinis on 31st March, the Colony was attacked a second time by them on 11th April, 1802. King Tom's force amounting to upwards of four hundred men, was composed of people from the Quiah River and from places to the east of the Colony. With them were some Susu adventurers, and eleven of the rebel settlers, who had fled from the Colony and become residents among the natives. The attack, which was wholly unexpected, took place about the dawn of day, when the enemy commenced an assault on the fort and town at the same instant. The action continued about twenty minutes, at the end of which the rebels were completely routed and their standard taken. Nearly one hundred of the assailants were supposed to have been killed and wounded either in the action or the pursuit which followed it.

The loss sustained on the part of the Colony was five killed and nineteen wounded.

This succession of adverse circumstances so greatly damped the spirits of the settlers, that they abandoned their farms, and the idea of evacuating the Colony became general.

In November, 1802, Gambia Island, in the Sierra Leone River, about twenty miles distant from Freetown, mentioned in Treaty of 1788 as one of the boundaries, was taken formal possession of by a detachment of the Royal African Corps and some Nova Scotians and Maroons. There had been a French slave factory on the island the business of which was conducted by M. Renand until 1793, when it was evacuated. In that year M. Renand proposed to cede the island to the Sierra Leone Company, but it was not then deemed advisable to take possession.

Mr. Macaulay, who accompanied Governor Dawes on a visit to Gambia Island in June, 1793, gives the following description of the island : " The soil is rich, but it is surrounded with swamps full of mangroves, consequently unhealthy. The Europeans there are very sickly. The buildings are mean. There is an open battery in front of them on which are mounted four four-pounders."

The Sierra Leone Company introduced a silver currency of dollars, half-dollars, twenty and ten cent. pieces, and a copper currency of cents, or the hundredth parts of dollars ; but after the Colony was plundered by the French, a large sum of silver having been carried away, it was necessary to introduce in its stead a paper currency of dollars, half-dollars, and shillings, which were received by the natives in exchange for labour, provisions, etc., with the same confidence as they had before taken silver.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT BY THE SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, 1793-1807.

The Company's Expenditure, 1792-99—Parliamentary Grant in Aid—Captain Day assumes the Government—Parliamentary inquiry—Report made to House of Commons—Transfer of Company's rights to the Crown recommended—Captain Day reappointed Governor—Mr. Ludlam assumes the Government—Cession of territory westward of the Colony—Settlement transferred to the Crown—Population of the Colony—The Maroon Settlers—The Company's Expenditure, 1800-07—Cause of the Company's non-success—Religion of Natives—Purrah—Bondoo.

BEFORE leaving the history of this period it is desirable, we think, that some account should be taken of the financial transactions of the Sierra Leone Company, and the amount expended in founding and developing the settlement.*

During the first three years of the Colony, viz., from January, 1792, to December, 1794, the Company spent in its establishment and development a sum of £111,500, not including the loss caused by the destruction of the Colony by the French.

In the five later years ended December, 1799, the Company's expenditure amounted to £37,772, exclusive of all commercial charges, commercial losses, or the value of the various buildings erected by the Company during the period referred to.

All these expenses the Company bore without any aid whatever, the colonists contributing nothing towards defraying them.

Mr. Henry Thornton, on 4th May, 1798, in the House of Commons, in referring to the Slave Trade, stated, that of the sum (£240,000) originally subscribed for the Sierra Leone Company, he was sorry to say not above £60,000 remained. The Colony had sustained very serious calamities, both from fire and from the enemy; but the great thing against the trade of the Colony was

* *Vide* Report Directors African Institute, 1815.

the slave trade. Even the persons sent out by the Company as their factors, engaged in the slave trade.

The Company thought, that as large sums of the public money had for nearly a century been bestowed on other establishments on the coast of Africa, erected with far different views from those which had actuated the Sierra Leone Company, they might fairly claim the consideration of the question of assistance being given to it from Parliament. In 1800, therefore, the Company for the first time applied to Parliament for a grant of money to assist in defraying the expense of maintaining the Colony.

A House of Commons Committee of 1802 recommended that Parliament should grant £4,000 for the support of the Civil Establishment* of Sierra Leone, which was given. A sum of £7,000, being a part of £20,000 voted in Parliament for African forts, was granted to the Company for the erection of a fort at Sierra Leone, and an expectation was held out of a further sum of £8,000 for defensive purposes generally.

The Directors, however, petitioned for an enlargement of the pecuniary grant of £4,000, which had been paid to them for the two preceding years, and Parliament finally granted £10,000 towards the annual expenses of the settlement.

In February, 1803, Captain W. Day, Royal Navy, arrived in the Colony and assumed the government, and during his six months' tenure of office he was principally occupied in taking measures for rendering the Colony secure against any attack of the natives.

Messrs. Dawes and Ludlam administered for a short period after his departure to England to appear before the Committee about to inquire into the affairs of the Colony.

In December, 1803, a Committee† of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the merit of the Petition of the Court of Directors, in consequence of

* The paid civil staff at this time consisted of a Governor and Chief Judge, Senior in the Council, Second in Council, and Third in Council and Assistant Judge, Secretary, Accountant, Chaplain, Surgeon, Surveyor, Registrar, Clerk of the Crown, Coroner, Mayor, three Aldermen, Sheriff, Under Sheriff, Clerk of the Mayor's Court, Clerk to the Court of Requests, two Clerks, High Constable, and Apothecary.

† *Vide* Parliamentary Paper No. 55, February, 1807.

doubts having been expressed concerning the condition of the Colony by Commodore Hallowell, of H. M. ship "Argo," at Sierra Leone, which did not in his opinion justify the Parliament in continuing the grant-in-aid of the maintenance of the Civil Establishment, which in the year 1802 had been made to the Company.

It was shown, however, that the Colony had improved in every respect since the Commodore touched at Sierra Leone, and it was pointed out that if the Colony were to be given up, very great difficulty must necessarily arise in finding a proper place for the Maroons, and even if one were found, which was held to be a matter of considerable doubt, much expense must be incurred in removing them to it.

With reference to the Nova Scotians, it was conceived that nearly the same difficulty and expense would occur in disposing of them, as in arranging for the Maroons, and, farther, that it would not be consistent with the general views of the British public, which led to their removal to the coast of Africa, to leave them there without the protection and guidance of an European Colony.

Under these circumstances, the Committee of the House expressed the following opinion :—

"That the British Government is bound by every consideration of justice and good faith to continue its protection and support to the numerous description of colonists established there under its authority."

In respect to the general prospects of the settlement, the Committee observed :—

"Upon the whole your Committee, from a full consideration of the state of the Company's funds, of the uncertainty attending the constant renewal of the Parliamentary grants which may hereafter be found necessary, and the interest of the British Government in the Colony as connected with the maintenance of the Maroons and the Nova Scotians, who are its inhabitants, have been led to conclude that the objects for which the Colony was instituted may be more easily and effectually attained by transferring the civil and military authority to the Crown, for which purpose it may be reasonably expected that a partial surrender of the rights of the Company may be obtained from the proprietors, provided that security is given for the prosecution of the objects originally proposed.

"Unless such a transfer shall be effected, and until it takes place, there does not appear to your committee to be any better

means of discharging the obligations of Government towards the Nova Scotians and Maroons, or of obtaining the other beneficial purposes proposed by the Institution of the Colony, than by supporting the Company's Government as now established."

It was estimated that, exclusive of the charge of erecting the Fort and maintaining the Garrison, the annual expense of the Colony would be £10,000.

On 9th July, 1804, the vote for £14,000 was passed, including £4,000 for the Volunteer force, and Captain Day, R.N., who had been examined before the Parliamentary Committee, was re-appointed Governor, and returned to the Colony in January, 1805. The staff was then, as far as possible, filled up, and Captain Day, by his vigorous action in fortifying Sierra Leone against future attacks by the natives, restored confidence amongst the settlers and the friendly chiefs, and compelled its enemies to sue for peace. The spirit of the colonists revived, the native labourers returned to their work on the farms, and cultivation was successfully resumed.

In consideration of the Committee's opinion, the Directors agreed to recommend to the General Court that the Company should transfer to the Crown the entire civil and military authority over the Colony, and proposed that the Transfer should be made at Midsummer, 1806, the Company not to be liable to be called upon for any Colonial expenses which might be incurred after that time.

On the declaration of war with France, Captain Day returned to England, and in 1806, Mr. Ludlam assumed the government of the Colony for the third time, and held office until the possessions and rights of the Sierra Leone Company were transferred to the Crown, 1808.

On 10th July, 1807, a Treaty of Peace and Alliance between the Governor of Sierra Leone and King Firama and King Tom, was entered into, and all the possessions of every sort and kind of King Firama and King Tom in the peninsula and its dependencies to the westward of the Colony were ceded to Governor Ludlam for the use and benefit of the Sierra Leone Company.

In consideration of this cession, and in addition to permission to retain the native towns of RoBiss, Salt Town, and Ro-Cupra, and the river bank for the native luggars,

the customary payment of one hundred bars* to King Firama, under agreement of 1794, was continued. The Governor agreed to collect water dues from trading vessels obtaining water from St. George's Bay, excepting those belonging to the Sierra Leone Company, the proprietors of Bance Island, or the colonists themselves, at the rate of fifteen bars per vessel, the bars being valued at 3s. 4d. each. By this arrangement, the terms of peace made after the second Timini invasion in 1802 were completed.

At a meeting of the Sierra Leone Company in London, 1806, the chairman, Mr. Thornton, read a report of the state of the Company. It concluded with observing that, in consequence of one of the objects for which the Company had been formed, viz., the abolition of the slave trade, being in a fair train of being accomplished, the Company being considerably in debt, and the expenses unavoidably increasing, the Governors recommended the transfer of the Colony to the Government.

In September, 1806, the Committee of Privy Council stated that it appeared to their Lordships that the terms on which the transfer was desired by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company should be effected, viz., that the Charter and Corporate Grant, with the Fortifications and Public Buildings, and all other immoveable property belonging to the Company in their corporate capacity should be surrendered; and that the moveable property of the Company, with the exception of Naval and Military stores, might remain at their own disposal; and that all grants which might have been made to individuals, should be confirmed to them, and that they should continue to hold the same, under his Majesty, on the terms on which they now hold them under the Company; and that the government of the settlement should hereafter be carried on in such manner as his Majesty might be pleased to direct.

In pursuance of this recommendation, a Bill for transferring the Colony to the Crown was brought into

* The term "bar" comes from the original traders, who valued goods at the equivalent to bars of iron. Values seem to vary. Laing puts it at 3s. 6d. The bar of tobacco in the Timini country was ten heads of four leaves each head, and a small piece to tie them together: in the Koranko country it was ten heads of three leaves, and in the Sulima country five heads of three leaves each.

Parliament, which received the Royal Assent on the 8th of August, 1807. The Act 47 Geo. III. cap. 44 transferred the possessions and rights of the Company to the Crown from 1st of January, 1808. The Company to cease to be a body politic and corporate at the expiration of seven years, and the buying or selling of slaves within the Colony was prohibited.

The King authorised Governor Ludlam to remain as Governor of Sierra Leone, and to continue all the officers in their several situations and duties until his Majesty's further pleasure be signified.

At the time of the transfer the population of Sierra Leone numbered about one thousand persons, settled citizens, conforming to the ordinary usages of civilised communities. This was somewhat remarkable on the part of the Maroon settlers. Deported from Jamaica on account of their turbulent conduct, they arrived at Sierra Leone in time to assist in the suppression of a mutiny amongst the Free Blacks. This circumstance was not likely to lead to very friendly feelings between the Nova Scotians and themselves. Yet, when Governor Ludlam handed over the Colony to the Crown, he was able to report very favourably upon them as law-abiding and industrious settlers. This is worthy of notice, as in the Report of the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, of March, 1804, they were spoken of in the terms following, which were not justified by their subsequent conduct :—

“The Maroons are active and intrepid, prodigal of their lives, confident of their strength, proud of the character of their Body, and fond, though not jealous, of their independence. They universally harbour a desire of going back at some period of their lives to Jamaica, and, therefore, may with more difficulty be induced by prospects of future benefit to labour for the improvement of their habitations or plantations. These circumstances render them a people not easy to be governed, and to be brought into that state of society which would best promote the civilization of Africa. The suppression of Polygamy among them has been hitherto deemed an experiment too hazardous to be tried, and no fair opportunities have yet occurred of ascertaining how far they will submit quietly to such restraints of the civil power as are most repugnant to their inclinations and habits.”

In the eight years ended December 1807, the Com-

pany's expenditure,* exclusive of commercial losses and commercial salaries, amounted to £129,952, being an average of over £16,000 per annum, while there was received from Government £96,520, or about three-fourths of the sum shown to have been expended.

Governor Ludlam gives this general opinion of the causes of the want of success experienced by the Sierra Leone Company, in the prosecution of their design, in the following terms :—

"Few places have met with greater discouragement: frequently the Colony has been threatened, and twice was actually attacked by the natives. Once it was ruined by the French: twice its own people have broke out into insurrection. When extensive commerce was carried on the French destroyed it. When cultivation flourished, the natives first drew away the labourers, and then drove the Settlers from their farms. Even when exempt from actual violence, the turbulence of the people, the want of fortifications, and the policy more than the ill will of the natives kept us in a state of constant disquietude and alarm. The heavy losses the Company sustained obliged it to pursue a rigid economy, under which the Colony might exist, but never flourish. No example could be set in cultivation, no improvement attempted: little intercourse kept up with neighbouring nations: knowledge of the interior could not be extended, nothing, in short, could be effected to give credit to the Settlement. It was not often that an establishment could be kept up sufficient for the most necessary purposes: add to this, the peculiar unfitness of the main body of the people to persevere under the difficulties, and contend against the dangers of a new Settlement: and the wonder is that the Colony exists rather than that it has not flourished."

Nothing that we can add could more clearly summarise the causes which led to the failure of the Company generally to carry out the task which it had from time to time undertaken. It must be clearly understood that the Sierra Leone Company and its immediate predecessors had for their object rather the introduction of civilisation into the African continent than the pursuit of commerce, though the latter of necessity formed a part of its scheme to enable the settlers to develop the various possible means of self-support. The Sierra Leone Company undoubtedly suffered severe losses of no ordinary nature, and its servants had to contend with a climate

* *Vide* Report Directors African Institute, 1815.

which seriously retarded the work of its staff, whilst their inexperience in matters affecting their dealings with the aboriginal native must have been a great hindrance to the progress of the settlement.

That the men who were placed at the head of affairs were earnest in their endeavours to do their best in what they considered were the interests of the trusts confided to them, there can be no doubt, and though mistakes were made, we cannot believe that they were greater, or more serious in their results, than would have occurred under government by the Crown ; and it would be manifestly unfair to leave this subject without giving them their due credit for the advancement which had taken place when they handed over their charge to the Crown. No one who reads the history of this period can fail to recognise that if their methods were primitive, they at least laid a foundation of law, order, and self-support in the Colony which was of the greatest value to its successor both in the internal economy of the Colony and its dealings with the surrounding tribes of natives. The whole of this question of administration will, however, appear again at a later date, where it will be dealt with more fully.

So far little or nothing has been said of the religion of the native tribes round the new Colony, but as we are approaching the period when the Church Missionary Society commenced its labours, a few words on the subject will not be out of place.

Though there were Mohammedan races in the interior, with whom we had at this time little or nothing to do, the main body of the natives in the countries surrounding the Colony were pagans, believing only in witchcraft and gri-gris or charms. These latter might consist of anything, from a glass-bottle to a lump of mud with a few feathers stuck in it, according to the dictates of the Fetishman. Indeed, to this day witchcraft is a source of terror to the people, and the Government was compelled in 1851* to pass an ordinance forbidding, under certain penalties, its practice. These remarks, however, refer generally to matters of every-day life, sickness, loss of goods or cattle, etc., in which the aid of the Fetishman was sought.

* *Vide* the Police Ordinance dated 1st August, 1851.

Outside this, however, there was (and is) a fetish institution, the Purrah, whose objects were of a different character at its foundation, whatever it may have degenerated into later days. Its power extended to the Timinis surrounding Freetown and even further inland, though its home appears to be in the Sherbro District.

It is supposed to have been founded by a confederacy, or secret society, whose numbers increased rapidly, as a protection against the nefarious scheme adopted by the Headmen of the tribes to obtain slaves for the markets. To avoid capture people fled into the woods and joined the Purrah, and lived there entirely in bands for mutual support, and no one who entered these haunts as spies ever returned. Any man going to them for refuge had to become a Purrah. That some sort of pagan rites and mysteries were observed by the Purrah there is no doubt, but they have never been revealed, and it is remarkable that no women were ever admitted to even see any of the ceremonies that took place. Conferences were held by the united bands of Purrah, and united action was observed to put down oppression in all its forms. Thus, as a political factor in the country, as well as in assisting to stop the slave trade, it became an important and much-dreaded body. Such at least were the ideas formed of it by men like Winterbottom, Golbéry, and Laing, from the information they could obtain on the subject.

There is no doubt though, that its power has been prostituted to much lower ends since those days, to robbery, violence of all kinds for private ends, and the extraction of heavy fees from settlers for protection in their trading expeditions. In spite of education, religion, and extended intercourse with other people, the Purrah still holds its dread sway over the vast body of the natives of all classes. Anyone admitted to the society who broke the oaths or divulged its secrets was put to death even in his own house, or amidst his own friends. The statement that "The Grand Purrah decrees his punishment" was quite sufficient to make them leave him to his fate, so great was the dread of the Purrah.

Amongst the women, Winterbottom tells us, there was a curious institution called "Bondoo." This appears to have been a kind of inquisition to obtain con-

fession of crimes they have committed, or been privy to. Refusal to disclose guilt was followed by death, whilst prevarication or suspicion was dealt with by trial of poison water.

In every town these societies held sway, and gross superstition prevailed ; and it is not to be wondered at if much of it spread its influence amongst the liberated slaves accustomed to the Ju-Jus and gri-gri worship of other parts of the coast, and even to the half-Christianised settlers still influenced by the dark superstitions of the slave plantations whence they had come.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNMENT BY THE CROWN, A.D. 1808-10.

Possessions of Sierra Leone Company transferred to the Crown—The African Institution formed—Vice-Admiralty Court constituted—Measures taken for the Captured Negroes—Recruiting for the Army—Kroomen join the Colony—Governor Ludlam asks to be relieved of the Government—Arrival of Governor Thompson and Commissioner Dawes—Mr. Thompson assumes the Government—Condition of the Colony—Act passed for liberating Slaves—Military officers appointed to Council—Act preventing Prize Negroes being apprenticed—Recruiting discouraged—Payment of Customs to King Firama stopped—Treaty with Chiefs of the Windward Coast—Act providing for the defence of the Colony—Commissioners for Lands—Streets to be named—Constables to Wards—Coinage of England—Laws passed for Maroons—Premiums for Industry offered—Post Office established—Harbour and Watering Dues Ordinance—Land Lots given to the Colonists—Leicester the first Village formed—Charter of 9th August, 1809—Governor Thompson to England.

THE ceremony of transferring the possessions and rights of the Sierra Leone Company to His Majesty's Government took place on New Year's Day, 1808, and Thomas Ludlam, Esquire, the Governor for the Sierra Leone Company, then assumed the government on behalf of the Crown, and re-appointed the various officers of the Colony.

In April, 1807, shortly before the Bill for handing over the Colony to the Crown received the Royal Assent, a society was formed in London under the title of "The African Institution." The declared objects of the society were the improvement and civilisation of the people of West Africa; and its affairs were to be administered by a President, twenty Vice-Presidents, and thirty Directors. In the list of the managing body may be found the names of well-known men who were Directors of the Sierra Leone Company as well.

The Government also allowed the society a large share in advising on the direction of the affairs of the Colony, by which arrangement the Government of the

day were saved the trouble of thinking about the enlightenment of the natives.*

One year after the passing of the Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (as far as Great Britain and her colonies were concerned), a Vice-Admiralty Court was constituted by Order in Council, 16th March, 1808, at Sierra Leone for the trial and adjudication of any captures of slaves taken as prizes, etc., and it was ordered that :—

- (A) All slaves and vessels carrying them with all effects on board should be sent before this court for trial and adjudication; that the captors should hand over all slaves captured to the proper officer who became responsible for them, and gave certificates for bounties due to captors.
- (B) The Collector of Customs for the time being was appointed receiving officer, and directed to provide suitable maintenance for the captured negroes pending the decision of the Admiralty Court, and until they could be entered, enlisted, apprenticed, or disposed of according to the true meaning of the Abolition Act.

In consequence of these orders, Sierra Leone became a collecting place for Africans from all parts of the Western coast, speaking different languages, and belonging to various tribes, many of whom willingly joined at various times, the Royal African Corps and West India Regiments.

The recruiting for these Corps is well described by Major A. B. Ellis in *The History of the First West India Regiment* :—

“ In former days whenever the cargo of a captured slaver was landed at Sierra Leone a party from the garrison used to be admitted to the Liberated African Yard for the purpose of seeking recruits amongst the slaves. Many of the latter, pleased with the brilliant uniform, and talked over by the recruiting party, who were men specially selected for this duty on account of their knowledge of African languages, offered themselves as recruits. If medically fit they were invariably accepted, though it must have been well known that they could not possibly have had any idea of the nature of the engagement into which they were entering. Some fifteen or twenty recruits being thus obtained, they were given high sounding names, such as Mark Antony, Scipio Africanus, etc., their own barbaric

* *Vide* Chap. IX.

appellations being too unpronounceable, and then marched down in a body to the Cathedral to be baptized. Some might be Mohammedans, and the majority certainly believers in fetish, but the form of requiring their assent to a change in their religion was never gone through: and the following Sunday they were marched into church as a matter of course along with their Christian comrades. Although thus nominally christianised, they still remained at heart believers in fetish."

The Kroomen from the Kroo country near Cape Palmas also sought employment in the Colony as boatmen or labourers, after the abolition of the slave trade, but their families were not introduced into the settlement until a later date. In this manner the population of the Colony was rapidly increased, and villages soon sprang up. In May, 1808, Governor Ludlam represented to the Home Authorities that he was nearly without assistance in the management of Colonial affairs, and begged to be relieved from the duties of Governor. He referred to the Estimate delivered to the House of Commons Committee, 1802, in which forty different offices were enumerated as expedient for the good management of the Colony, while the only important offices filled by Europeans (May, 1808) were those of the Governor, Secretary to the Council, and Surgeon. Outside these executive officers, seventeen were actually vacant, twelve were filled by people of colour, seven belonged to the Judicial Department, and a missionary officiated as substitute for chaplain.

Provision had already been made for Crown Colony Government, for we find from the Secretary of State's despatch of April, 1808, that Mr. T. P. Thompson had been selected to succeed Mr. Ludlam as Governor of Sierra Leone. The Parliamentary grant for the year 1808 amounted to £16,310. The grant for the following year amounted to £17,360, and as the details will probably be of interest, they are given in Appendix.*

Mr. Ludlam was also informed of his appointment as Commissioner for enquiring into the state of the settlements and forts on the coast of Africa, whether belonging to European or native powers, with a view to investigating the best means of carrying into effect the law for the abolition of the slave trade, to inducing the native

* *Vide* Appendix C.

chiefs to abandon that commerce, and to preventing European Companies from continuing and promoting it. Further, that Mr. Dawes would be joined with him in the Commission for enquiring, and a third Commissioner appointed later.

Mr. T. P. Thompson arrived at Sierra Leone on 21st July, 1808, in H. M. ship "Mutine," a transport, having on board a detachment of the Royal York Rangers, arriving at the same time. He was instructed to succeed Mr. Ludlam in the government of the Colony on 1st October, or sooner, should Mr. Ludlam before that time vacate his office. Mr. Thompson in the interim was to fill the post of First in Council, with an allowance of £1,500 a-year, the salary to be augmented to £2,000 per annum upon his assuming the government.

Mr. William Dawes, formerly Governor of Sierra Leone, and one of the Commissioners of Enquiry, arrived in the ship of war with Governor Thompson. He was instructed to occupy himself at Sierra Leone in pursuits connected with the object of his mission, until the arrival of the Third Commissioner and of the frigate to be appropriated to that service. Mr. Dawes assented to the desire of the Governor and Council to act as Engineer during his residence in the Colony, and accordingly undertook the superintendence of all public works.

At the express desire of Governor Ludlam, and to enable him to attend exclusively to settling the affairs of the Sierra Leone Company, Mr. Thompson, on 27th July, 1808, at the age of twenty-five years, assumed the government of the colony.

The eyes of the inhabitants were fixed on the most unimportant actions of the first Governor of Sierra Leone appointed by the Crown, to divine the system which the change of Government was to produce. Observations were made on his youth, that he had been a soldier, and that military law would be introduced; but instead of a brilliant proclamation, appeared a peaceful exhortation to the practice of agriculture and the extension of cultivation, expressed in language intelligible to the people.

Governor Thompson found the appearance of Sierra Leone in many respects more favourable than he expected, but the unprotected state of the Colony and the existence of slavery in it called for immediate attention.

In England the Governor was informed that the forts were "capable of resisting six frigates," but he found that the Martello Tower on the hill, the only good work in the place, was of no use for the want of a gun; at Fort Thornton, the heavy guns were withdrawn from the fire of shipping; and at the Point Battery only one gun could be used with effect. In addition to this, a Militia without officers, and more dangerous to themselves than to their enemies; and a corps of highly-paid Volunteers, composed the Military Force raised from the inhabitants of the Colony, which for defensive purposes, was, to say the least, very inadequate.

In the *Sierra Leone Gazette* of 1808 it is stated that at the time of Governor Thompson's arrival, a number of natives were labouring on the Public Works as slaves, provided only with food and necessary covering, and exhorted to diligence by the canes of their overseers; while within the walls of the fort twenty men and one *woman* heavily ironed, exhibited a spectacle of terror to all runaway slaves.

Following this statement is a notification that an Act had been passed by the Governor and Council, declaring that any person dealing in slaves or keeping slaves shall be judged to be guilty of Felony, without benefit of clergy, and in the Governor's Address, coming next, some plain language is used.

"In defiance of the laws, slavery has existed in the Colony: it will exist no longer though there are yet men who *always thought slavery necessary for this Colony, and who think so still.*

"Africans, your King thinks otherwise, your Governor thinks otherwise, and the brave African people think otherwise. Surely we shall together be a match for a few men who wish to sell you."

From the necessity of having some counsel and assistance, Governor Thompson, in August, 1808, appointed the Officer Commanding the Detachment Royal York Rangers, to hold the office of First in Council, as being the only person within the Colony, whom there was the most distant propriety in appointing to the office, and upon the death of that officer, the Commanding Officer of the Detachment Royal African Corps succeeded him as First in Council, the two senior civil servants of the

Government not being natural born subjects of Great Britain. As there was a salary of £400 per annum attached to this office, we may accept it, that in making this appointment Governor Thompson took his first step towards dispensing with the services of the employés of the late Sierra Leone Company.

In August, 1808, an Ordinance was passed declaring the system of "Apprentices" within the Colony to be illegal, null and void.

This Act referred to certain slaves, numbering 167, taken by H.M.S. "Derwent," in two American vessels, trading for slaves contrary to law, and brought to Free-town. As it became necessary to provide for them, Governor Ludlam, proceeding according to the spirit of the Abolition Act of 1807, took forty of the ablest men into the service of the Government, promising them full liberty at the end of three years. The remainder—18 men, 14 women, and 95 children—were bound as apprentices for varying periods.

It is due to Governor Ludlam to mention that although a Vice-Admiralty Court was constituted by Order in Council, 16th March, 1808, at Sierra Leone, yet at this date no such Court had been instituted, nor had the Orders in Council respecting captured negroes reached the Colony. The case was novel, and the Governor had no precedent.

Governor Thompson also (a) discouraged recruiting for His Majesty's Black Regiments, conceiving that it might have injurious effects; (b) stopped payment of customs to King Firama and King Tom for territory ceded by treaty to Governor Ludlam in 1807, for the benefit of the Sierra Leone Company; and (c) entered into a treaty with the Chiefs and Headmen of the Windward coast, binding His Majesty to an offensive and defensive alliance with those powers.

In October, 1808, an Ordinance was passed providing for the defence of the Colony. Shortly afterwards intelligence was brought that an attack on the whole of the English settlements on the West Coast of Africa was in organisation among the natives, in revenge for the abolition of the slave trade. The Volunteers and other military forces were immediately disbanded, and, by enrolling all the male inhabitants between fifteen and sixty years of age capable of bearing arms, one body of

Militia was substituted in their place, which, it was hoped, would afford a substantial addition of strength to the Colony.

At this time of preparation and alarm, the Act of the Governor and Council for regulating the Militia was made the pretext by a great portion of the inhabitants for resistance to the Government, and placards of the most inflammatory nature were posted in different parts of Freetown, but no active opposition resulted.

An attempt was made in 1808, by the appointment of Commissioners, to hear claims, and to place on a legal footing the grants of lands in the Colony. It was found that both cultivation, and the improvement of the settlement, was impeded owing to the absence of legal and decisive grants, and the impossibility of producing titles to property. All claims were to be lodged before 1st of January, 1810, and this date was subsequently extended to the end of that year.

Ordinances were passed in this year naming George Town, and giving names to the streets of Freetown, as well as for the appointments of Constables to Wards, and substituting the coinage of England for the moneys of the United States of America. Laws were also passed regulating marriages among the Maroons, and declaring children of Maroons, born before December, 1808, to be entitled to the privileges of children born in lawful wedlock.

Premiums for industry amounting to one hundred pounds were offered by the Governor and Council, and among the rewards we find the following :—

	£	s.
To each of the six Kroomen who shall first introduce their wives and families into the Colony, and shall live with them in one or more distinct houses to each family, and shall cultivate a quantity of ground not less than two acres for the space of two years	...	5 5
To the person who shall first introduce into the Colony a living elephant, a gold medal value or in money	...	10 10
To the person who shall first introduce into the Colony a male and female camel or dromedary	...	10 10

Rewards were held out for the cultivation of tobacco, of rice, called by the natives "white man's rice," ground nuts, etc.

A Post Office was established at the Colonial Secretary's Office, Fort Thornton, and the first newspaper, the *Sierra Leone Gazette*, price five cents, was published in the Colony.

In April, 1809, there was passed what may be termed the First Customs' Act, by which Harbour and Watering* dues were fixed; bounties granted for the growth of white man's rice, yams, and "cotton wool" for exportation. It was further provided that any lands not in use or occupation which might be cultivated before 1st of January, 1810, should become the freehold property of the cultivator and his heirs, irrespective of any other claims. This Act having effected a considerable increase in the cultivation of land, a further Ordinance was passed in January, 1810, granting to all persons who had cultivated and hedged in any property then in possession of the Governor and Council, the freehold for themselves and their successors.

In this year also the first village of the mountain district of the Colony, named Leicester, was formed and peopled by liberated Africans.

By the Crown Charter of 9th August, 1809, Instructions were transmitted for the Authorities to continue the administration of justice and the interior government of the Colony as it had been done by the Sierra Leone Company, and it was also directed that in the absence of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, the Member of Council next to the Chief Justice should administer the government of the Colony.

It was not to be expected that the measures taken by Governor Thompson in overturning the previous arrangements of the Sierra Leone Company, and his expressed disapproval of the Company's management would suit the views of the Directors of the African Institution; accordingly, in July, 1809, Mr. Thompson was recalled, and received instructions to give over command of the settlement to Captain Columbine, Royal Navy, and repair to England by the earliest opportunity, in order that His Majesty's Government might have the

* See Chapter V. Treaty for cession of territory, July, 1807.

advantage of personal communications upon all the subjects connected with his administration previous to any final decision upon them.

His intended removal was postponed by the loss of the ship which carried out his successor. On 12th February, 1810, he handed over the government to Captain Columbine.

On March 5th, as Mr. Thompson was on the point of embarking for England, he was arrested for alleged debts. The cause of arrest arose from some confusion in the public accounts, by which confusion certain notes issued as the paper money for the use of the Colony could not immediately be liquidated by public bills as originally stipulated. When the holders of the notes found it impossible to obtain public payment for them, and that Mr. Thompson was about to embark and leave the affair unsettled, they proceeded to arrest him.

Application was made for a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and when the case was brought before the Governor in Council, it was decided that the arrest was illegal and could not be sustained.

On Mr. Thompson's voyage homeward on the brig "Cæsar," of Liverpool, the vessel was captured off the Western Islands by the French ship, "L'Auguste," from the Isle of France. The French captain conducted himself very honourably, and after detaining the vessel about four hours, and taking out some provisions of which he was in want, he liberated the vessel, crew, and passengers, on condition that they should endeavour to procure from the British Government the liberation of four French subjects.

Mr. Thompson's representation was successful, and the four prisoners were liberated.

It seems fitting here to give a brief account* of the distinguished services of the first Governor of Sierra Leone appointed by the Crown:—

Thomas Perronet Thompson, born in 1783 at Hull, Yorkshire, was sent at the early age of fifteen to Queen's College, Cambr'dge, where in his nineteenth year he graduated B.A., being placed seventh on the list of Wranglers. In 1803 he entered the Navy as Midshipman, but left it in 1806, and joined the sister service as

* From *Dictionary of National Biography*.

a Second Lieutenant in the 95th Rifles. His first experience of active military service was unlucky, as he was captured by the Spaniards in the attack on Buenos Ayres, 1807. After a short imprisonment he was set free, and on his return to England was appointed, in 1808, Governor of Sierra Leone, through the influence of Wilberforce, who had been an early friend of Thompson's father. The slave trade had been declared illegal in 1806; but Thompson's efforts to suppress the evils of the apprenticeship system were ill received, and the Government deemed it well to recall him in the second year of his Governorship. Soon afterwards he again sought active service by joining in Spain the 14th Light Dragoons as Lieutenant. He took part in some of the severest fighting in the Pyrenees. From 1815 to 1819 he took part in campaigns in India, and in the expedition to the Persian Gulf. In November, 1820, at the head of some 300 Sepoys and a force of friendly Arabs, Thompson was defeated at Soor, on the Arabian Coast, by a body of Arabs whom he had been directed by the Bombay Government to chastise for alleged piracy. He returned to England in 1822, and saw no further active service. Almost immediately upon his return home he devoted himself to literature and politics. He was returned to Parliament for Hull, 1835, and for Bradford, 1857. He attained the rank of General in 1868, the year before his death.

CHAPTER VII.

GOVERNMENT BY THE CROWN, A.D. 1810-1814.

Captain Columbine to administer the Government—Takes over the Government of the Colony—Commissioners Report on State of the Colony—Mr Grant's claim to a seat in Council—Commissioners proceed to the Gold Coast—Administration of the Law—The Royal African Corps—Census of the Colony taken—Church Missionary Society—The African Institution—Governor Columbine to England—Lieutenant Bones, R.N., in charge of Government—Colonel Maxwell assumes the Government—Council for the Colony—Report upon the Condition of the Colony—Company of Blacks for the Royal African Corps—Militia Act causes discontent—Recruiting Depôt for West India Regiments—Captured Slaves (negroes), how disposed of—Governor Maxwell returns to England—Population of the Colony—Trial under the Slave Felony Act.

IN October, 1808, Captain Columbine, R.N., was instructed to proceed to Sierra Leone, and, after being joined there by the other Commissioners, Mr. Ludlam and Mr. Dawes, to go on to the Gold Coast. After visiting all the forts on the Gold Coast he was to proceed to Whydah, and thence to St. Thomas's, and from St. Thomas to return to Sierra Leone; and after the Commissioners had closed their enquiries there and at Bance Island, to visit Goree, and thence return to England.

Captain Columbine left England in March, 1809, and was in command of the Naval force at the surrender of the French settlement of Senegal in July. The "Solebay" frigate he commanded got on shore in moving up the river from Goree, and was wrecked. Having, in consequence of that loss, to return to England, his proceeding to Sierra Leone was delayed.

In April, 1809, Captain Columbine was directed to proceed to Sierra Leone, to administer the government of that settlement until His Majesty's commission appointing a Governor should arrive in the Colony. He was instructed upon arrival to consider the result of the measures adopted by Governor Thompson respecting the Treaty made by Governor Ludlam with King Firama

and King Tom in 1807, and if he found that any dissatisfaction has been expressed upon Mr. Thompson's conduct respecting it, he was to take measures for replacing matters upon the footing on which they existed under Governor Ludlam, and for defraying the arrears of Customs due to the native Princes.

He was also to make a particular investigation into the circumstances relating to the Treaty recently entered into by Governor Thompson with the Headmen of the natives of the Windward Coast, and binding His Majesty to an offensive and defensive alliance with those powers. As Mr. Thompson possessed no authority whatever from the King to enter into a Treaty of this nature, the Governor was to endeavour to have a proper explanation made to the Headmen, to suggest such measures as he should find most expedient of showing the informality of Mr. Thompson's proceeding, and at the same time His Majesty's sincere desire to conciliate the Headmen of the Windward Coast.

Governor Thompson, having discouraged recruiting for His Majesty's Black Regiments, conceiving that it might have injurious effects Governor Columbine was instructed if a good system could be arranged for inducing the natives freely to enlist, to neglect no proper means of effecting it.

Captain Columbine arrived at Sierra Leone on 10th February, 1810, in H.M.S. "Crocodile," and two days later assumed the government of the Colony; but he accepted temporary charge of the government only on condition of retaining the command of his ship. In reporting his arrival he referred to the disturbed state into which the Colony had been thrown by the profusion of his predecessor and the opposite retrenchments which he (Captain Columbine) had to make by the Secretary of State's command.

In the Commissioners' Report on the Colony, dated 26th February, 1810, it is stated that the public buildings being chiefly of wood were in a state of ruinous decay. The Commissioners recommended that they should be rebuilt with stone, and that the Governor be authorised to lay out upon them a sum not exceeding four thousand pounds per annum, until they were completed. That the military force of the Colony should be reconstituted, the Detachment of the Royal

African Corps stationed at Sierra Leone having seldom been strong enough to perform the duty of guarding Fort Thornton alone, much less the furnishing of sentries for other posts. At some periods they could not afford a single sentry to their own hospital, so that the whole military duty of the Colony fell on the inhabitants. The death-like appearance of the Detachment of the Royal African Corps quartered in the Fort, and the wretched condition of the barracks, one of the lower rooms of which, although crowded with men, contained no window, and more resembled an oven than a barrack, was represented to the Secretary of State in July, 1808, by Governor Thompson; and in March, 1810, Colonel Maxwell, the Lieut.-Governor of Senegal, reported that between June, 1808, and December, 1809, a period of eighteen months, 43 out of 109 men of the African Corps died at Sierra Leone, which he attributed to the wretched accommodation provided. There was, however, little improvement in the housing of the troops until the year 1826, when the barracks at Tower Hill were completed.

It was also recommended that the grants of land made by Governor Thompson in 1809 should not be confirmed, on account of their extravagant extent, their inconvenient position and arrangement, and the conditions upon which they were granted.

The Commissioners estimated the Public Expenses of the Colony for the year 1810 as follows :—

Salaries	... £12,240	
Civil Contingencies	.. 3,395	
Military Contingencies	... 1,320	
Public Works	... 4,000	
		£20,955
But some saving from Offices vacant, etc.		955
		<hr/>
Total	... £20,000	

The recommendations of the Commissioners received the Secretary of State's approval.

Mr. Grant arrived in the Colony on February 16th, about four days after Captain Columbine had assumed the government. On the 21st, he claimed a seat in Council on the ground that he had been appointed a

Member of Council by the Secretary of State in 1808. This the Governor refused to admit unless supported by due authority, which Mr. Grant apparently could not produce. Though he was well known to that officer, having sailed and being wrecked in the "Solehay" with him, and had also returned to England with him after that event, Captain Columbine actually resisted the claim because it included the succession to the government of the Colony in the case of absence or death of the Governor; and in consideration of the circumstances, and the disturbed state of the Colony, Governor Columbine referred the case to the Secretary of State.

The new Governor's troubles soon commenced, for we read in the *Sierra Leone Gazette* of March 26th, 1810, that about the end of February, according to Depositions made 5th March, 1810, by the Master Mason and Assistant-Master Mason, there was a plot to place the government in the hands of Mr. Grant by violence, when Governor Columbine went with other Commissioners to survey the Coast of Africa. On receiving the sworn information concerning this plot, Captain Columbine ordered the Military Commanding Officer to proceed to the Head-quarters of his Regiment at Goree, as both that officer and the Officer Commanding the Militia had supported Mr. Grant's case against him. The Military Commanding Officer refused to obey the order, and as the Governor felt from his attitude that he might resist with force, he called out the Militia, and Marines of H.M.S. "Crocodile" at once, and placed that officer under arrest. Fortunately, the Officer Commanding Troops submitted, and a very dangerous situation was averted. Had that officer utilised the force under his command, the consequences would probably have been tragic.

Mr. Grant evidently left the Colony, and as we hear of him no more, it may be assumed that he did not again return to it.

Governor Columbine having been directed by the Secretary of State in consequence of this affair to remain at Sierra Leone, Messrs Ludlam and Dawes, the second and third Commissioners, proceeded, April, 1810, in H.M.S. "Crocodile" to investigate the state of the settlements and forts on the Leeward Coast.

Mr. Dawes was principally occupied with the Hydro-

graphical Survey of the Coast from Sierra Leone to Danish Ningo beyond Accra, while Mr. Ludlam's attention was chiefly given to the other objects of the mission; but his long illness, terminating in his death on board the "Crocodile" on her return from the Gold Coast, prevented almost any communication between the Commissioners on the subject of the mission. The delay of about fifteen months occasioned by the loss of the frigate appointed to carry the Commissioners, during which time their salaries at £1,500 a-year each were, according to uniform practice, continued, entailed considerable expense.

In May, 1810, the constitution, duties and jurisdiction of the Police Court were settled by an Ordinance, but in July, the Governor complains of the difficulties into which he must unavoidably fall from the want of an experienced legal adviser. He is overwhelmed with law.

Between 12th February and 6th July, 1810, the number of people tried at the Quarter Sessions amounted to forty-two, besides numerous convictions before magistrates for trifling offences. During this period the Mayor's Court, the Court of Requests, and Police Court (all of which sat once a week), were as usual fully occupied with innumerable civil actions, generally of the most frivolous, yet troublesome nature. Of appeals to the Governor and Council there has been a due proportion. Upon the most moderate average, the Officers of the Civil Establishment were obliged to give two days, or at least two long mornings in the week, to the administration of Law for a population not exceeding three thousand souls. The Nova Scotians appear to have brought litigation in all its virulence from America.

In September, 1810, a part of the Troops at Senegal belonging to the Royal African Corps formed a plan to take possession of the settlement and to desert to America. Fifteen of the ringleaders were tried for mutinous conduct and shot, and twenty others much implicated were ordered to be removed to Sierra Leone, but Governor Columbine refused to permit the twenty men to land in the Colony.

The Royal African Corps was a disciplinary regiment as far as the whites were concerned. That is to say it was formed principally of deserters, convicts, and men

whose sentences of punishment had been commuted for service in Africa—not the class to give security to a settlement at which no regular military force was serving.

Under the provisions of an Ordinance of 9th March, in April, 1811, a Census was taken of the houses and population *within the walls* of Freetown, and gave the following results.

The fifteen streets contained three hundred and eighty houses, with a population of 1,917, viz :—

Europeans	..	...	28
Nova Scotians	...	..	982
Maroons	...	...	807
Africans	...	...	100

Governor Columbine employed the liberated Africans on the Public Works or apprenticed them.

Previous to Captain Columbine's departure from England, the Church Missionary Society recommended their mission at Sierra Leone to his attention, and received from him the strongest assurances of countenance and support. Upon arrival in the Colony he redeemed his promises.

The Directors of the African Institution furnished Captain Columbine with a transcript of all the papers that had been already forwarded to Sierra Leone, with a request that he would carry their wishes into effect. This he promised to do, and although ill-health and other causes prevented the Governor from giving full effect to the wishes of the Institution, the Directors were satisfied more progress was made during the administration of Governor Columbine than in that of his predecessor.

On 30th April, owing to the extremely debilitated state of his health, Captain Columbine relinquished the government to Lieutenant Bones, H.M. brig "Tigress," and left Sierra Leone in H.M.S. "Crocodile" on May 10th, 1811. He died at sea on June the 18th. His wife and daughter had already died in the Colony from the effects of climate.

Lieutenant Bones, R.N., took charge of the government until Colonel Maxwell's arrival from Senegal, a period of two months.

In April, 1811, Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Maxwell,* Lieutenant-Governor of the Settlement of Senegal, was appointed to Sierra Leone, and on July 1st he assumed the government of the Colony.

He was instructed to retain the Civil as well as Military Authority over the settlements of Senegal and Goree.

The Council was to consist of the Chief Justice and the Secretary of the Colony, together with one or other person to be chosen by the Governor from amongst the most considerable of the Protestant inhabitants residing in the Colony.

Shortly after arrival, Governor Maxwell reported that he found the Colony in a state of perfect tranquillity. . . . Provisions such as formed the common food of the inhabitants were in abundance. . . . Cultivation was confined to raising cassada and other vegetables necessary as food. . . . The export trade chiefly consisted of a small quantity of camwood and ivory collected from the neighbouring rivers. It was from the profits of that trade, the cassada raised on their small farms, and from fishing, that the principal part of the inhabitants derived their subsistence. . . . The only Public Works in progress were a Barrack for Soldiers and a Wharf to facilitate the debarkation of merchandise. . . . The Public Buildings, all of wood except the Court-house, which was of canvas, were in the most wretched state of decay. The fortifications were respectable and efficient, but of military stores of every description, there was a total deficiency, not a barrel of Government gunpowder stored in the magazine.

There were three hundred and sixty captured Negroes provided for by the Government.

The climate of Sierra Leone being so very inimical to the health and constitution of the European soldier, he (the Governor) submitted the expediency of allowing an

* Colonel Maxwell entered the army as ensign, 1795, and was engaged in the defence of the island of St. Vincent; in 1799 was present at the surrender of the Dutch fleet at the Helder; in 1800 in the expedition intended for the attack of Belleisle; afterwards in the affair at Ferrol, and then in Gibraltar and Malta until the peace of 1802. Served in South America, 1806. Commanded the land force in the capture of the French fortress and settlement of Senegal in 1809; and in 1810 appointed Lieutenant Governor of the Settlement of Senegal.

additional Company to the Royal African Corps, to consist of Black men, to assist in the duties and defence of the garrison. This Company could be raised from amongst the Negroes adjudged to His Majesty.

Governor Maxwell concluded by stating that much remained to be done, but he was also sensible that much had already been performed, and that his predecessors had difficulties to encounter and obstacles to overcome which were being removed. It had fallen to his lot to possess one advantage over his predecessors, in being accompanied by the Chief Justice, and thus being spared the necessity of administering the law, which was complained of by Governor Columbine. As a matter of fact the Chief Justice (Dr. Thorpe) had been appointed since 1808, but had only reached the Colony 1811, though he had drawn his salary of £1,500 during the whole time. He attributed his delay in proceeding to his post to the fact that the Charter of Justice was not finished until September, 1810, and, after that date, to the difficulty he had in obtaining a passage to the coast of Africa.

The addition of a Black Company to the Royal African Corps was approved, and a further Bill relating to the Militia, for the better defence of the Colony, was passed in November, 1811; but this Act was so obnoxious to a large number of the settlers, from its interference with what they considered their rights under the system of Frank-pledge, that many of them quitted the Colony, and abandoned their farms. They were discontented also at being withdrawn from their profitable labour—the cultivation of their lots of land—to be drilled under military law, and the doctrine was disseminated that a soldier was a degraded person, because he was liable to be flogged. However, by the exertions of Governor Maxwell, the men were induced to return to the settlement and they regained possession of their property.

In December, 1810, Governor Columbine reported that the factory on Bance Island was abandoned by the owners, no supplies having been sent to it for a considerable time, and suggested the desirability of the settlement being obtained for the Government; but in April, 1812, a Detachment belonging to the West India Regiment, being part of the Recruiting Establishment, arrived in the Colony from Barbadoes, and shortly after-

wards the Dépôt for recruiting was established on the island.

The reason for this being done was, probably, because the situation was readily suitable for the purpose. Recruits could be confined to the island during training, and the buildings existent provided Barrack accommodation at a very small cost for repairs.

Owing to ill-health, Governor Maxwell left Sierra Leone for England in July, 1814.

According to an Official Return, 9th July, 1814, the captured Negroes (slaves) landed at Sierra Leone since 1808, numbered 5,925, about half of that number being at this time shown to have remained in the Colony, whilst the bulk of the remainder of the liberated Africans entered the service of the Crown in the West Indian Regiment, African Corps, or the Royal Navy. The estimate formed of the population of the Colony at this date was 5,520, including the original Negro settlers and Europeans.

Colonel Maxwell's method of dealing with liberated Africans was to deliver over, to the persons appointed to receive them, all the men fit for His Majesty's service, apprentice a part of the remainder, and then to form villages with those who could not be so disposed of. Under this scheme villages were founded at Kissy, in the Freetown district, and at Regent and Wilberforce in the Mountain district.

The people who founded the village of Kissy differed from the inhabitants of the other villages. They were natives of the district of Kissy, lying between Falaba and the sources of the Niger, a savage and barbarous race who lived entirely on the sale of slaves, even their wives and children being sold into slavery. Several hundreds of this tribe having been captured from slave ships by British men-of-war, it was considered desirable to locate them in one place. They were, therefore, settled in the beautiful village named after their own country, Kissy, about four miles from Freetown.

After his return to England, Governor Maxwell had to answer for a serious miscarriage of justice. In his zeal for the abolition of the slave trade, he was evidently of opinion that the best means for effectually eradicating it would be the destruction of the factories in the adjacent rivers. Accordingly, in March, 1814, an expedi-

tion consisting of one hundred and fifty Troops and three vessels, under the orders of Major Appleton, Royal African Corps, proceeded about sixty miles up the river Pongo, to Bengalan, burnt and destroyed the commercial establishments on the banks, took into custody some merchants trading there, and conveyed them with their goods and chattels to Freetown. The goods seized were sold at Sierra Leone, and the proceeds shared according to the Army Rules for distribution of prize money.

Three merchants, Dunbar, Brodie, and Cooke (all Whites), were tried in the Criminal Court at Sierra Leone before the Acting-Chief Justice, Surgeon Purdie, who was also at the time Colonial Secretary. They were charged with trading in slaves in the Rio Pongo. The three were sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and being brought to England under this sentence, were placed on board the hulks at Portsmouth, preparatory to their being sent to Botany Bay.

Upon a report of the Law Officers of the Crown that the Acting-Judge tried and convicted these men, who resided beyond the boundary of the Colony, without any lawful jurisdiction to do so, the Government ordered that they should be set at liberty.

After release, one of them, George Cooke, an American citizen, brought an action to recover damages from Colonel Maxwell for assault and false imprisonment and for seizing his goods and destroying his factory.

The trial took place in 1817, at the Old Bailey Sessions, before Mr. Justice Bayley. Counsel for the plaintiff, after stating his client's case, pointed out that the defendant participated in the booty obtained by this Expedition, having received a considerable share of the prize money, and that he had knowingly exceeded his duty; for when the Expedition was projected, the illegality of his proceeding was pointed out to him by the Chief Justice, Dr. Thorpe, but the Governor chose to proceed in his own course.

The Attorney-General, for the defendant, admitted that his client had acted indiscreetly, and had so far exceeded his authority as to render himself liable to answer in damages, but the learned counsel was persuaded that the case called for no vindictive damages.

Mr. Justice Bayley, in charging the jury, expressed a

clear opinion that the defendant was responsible in damages for the whole imprisonment the plaintiff had endured, since the illegal conduct of the defendant had been the occasion of it ; that there was no ground for charging him with personal animosity ; but it was to be lamented that he had shared in the prize money obtained by the execution of his unjustifiable orders.

The jury consulted for a few minutes, and returned a verdict for the plaintiff, damages of one thousand pounds. A verdict was also taken for nineteen thousand pounds, the damages stated on the other counts of the declaration subject to award. The £20,000 was paid by the Government.

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD 1814 TO 1824.

Colonel MacCarthy assumes the Government—Withdrawal of European Troops—Arrival of West Indian Troops—Site for Kroo Town—Settlement of Bathurst formed, expeditions of Major Peddie and Major Gray—Cession of Isles de Los—Increase in population—Slaves from Barbadoes—Disbandment of 4th West India Regiment—Cession of Mar Porto and Ro Bomp—Waterloo and Hastings founded—Mixed Commission Courts established—Cession of Banana Islands—Founding of Liberia—Governor MacCarthy to England—Captain Grant assumes the Government—Communications from Interior Chiefs—Surgeon O'Beirne's mission to Teembo—Lieutenant Laing's mission to the Mandingo country—Abolition of the African Company—Gambia and Gold Coast under Sierra Leone Government—Governor MacCarthy on the Gold Coast—Governor MacCarthy returns to the Gold Coast—Expedition to Dunquah—Governor MacCarthy again to the Gold Coast—The disastrous expedition against the Ashantis—Sir Charles MacCarthy killed—Epidemic of 1823—Population of the Colony, 1822—The Liberated Africans—Condition of the Colony—Missionary efforts—The Church Missionary Society—Division of the Colony into parishes—Mr. Hamilton assumes the Government—Cession of Bance, Tasso, Tombo, and other islands—Mission of Mrs. Hannah Kilham.

COLONEL CHARLES MACCARTHY,* Commanding the Troops at Senegal and Goree, arrived in Sierra Leone 17th June, 1814. Upon Governor Maxwell's departure for England, he assumed the government as Acting-Governor, and in September, 1815, owing to Governor Maxwell's resignation, he was appointed Governor of the Colony.

In December, 1814, Governor MacCarthy proceeded to Senegal and Goree to arrange for the evacuation of those settlements, to be restored to France under the

* Charles MacCarthy, of the ancient and princely family "MacCarthy Lyragh," of that part of Ireland now called the County of Cork, was born in 1768. He served in the army in Flanders, the West Indies, and at Ferrol. In 1811 he became Lieut.-Colonel Royal African Corps, and in 1812 was appointed to command the troops at Senegal and Goree, and to administer the civil government.

Treaty of Paris, 1814. He returned to Sierra Leone in July following, and during his temporary absence of seven months from the Colony, four different officers—Major J. Maling, Dr. R. Purdie, Major W. Appleton, Captain H. Hyde—acted as Governor, two of whom were removed by death.

Owing to the dreadful mortality among the European soldiers of the Royal African Corps at Sierra Leone, the Government decided when Senegal and Goree were restored to France, and a reduction of the West African Garrison could be effected, to withdraw the European force from the West Coast of Africa, and to garrison Sierra Leone with Black Troops. The French expeditionary force for Senegal did not sail, however, until June, 1816, and owing to the disastrous fate of the "Medusa" frigate, the British troops were not withdrawn until March, 1817, when six companies of the Royal African Corps were embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, the future head-quarters of the regiment, a detachment was sent to the Gambia, and 192 African soldiers were discharged. In May, 1819, the head-quarters and five companies of the Second West India Regiment arrived from Jamaica to garrison Sierra Leone, the Isles de Los, and the Gambia. Consequent upon their arrival, the White Companies of the African Corps were sent to England, and the Black Companies were disbanded in the Colony. From this time dates the garrisoning of Sierra Leone by the West India Regiments.

In 1816, it became necessary to extend the boundaries of Freetown, owing to the increase in the numbers of the Kroc population, and a new site was acquired by the Government to the west of the town on which to erect the necessary number of dwellings for their community.

In this year also the British merchants from Senegal formed a new settlement (Bathurst), at the Island of St. Mary, River Gambia, which was subject to the Government of Sierra Leone.

As evidence of the advance in civilisation in the Colony, we recorded (Chapter VI.) the publication, in 1808, of the first local newspaper, the *Sierra Leone Gazette*. The issue was dropped, however, after a few years, and in August, 1817, appeared the first number

of a new paper, the *Royal Gazette and Sierra Leone Advertiser*.

In 1815, two expeditions were fitted out by Government for exploring the Western Coast of Africa. That under Captain Tuckey, Royal Navy, was to ascend the Congo, and the other, to descend the Niger, was entrusted to Major Peddie, 12th Foot, who was accompanied by Captain Campbell, of the Royal Staff Corps, and Staff-Surgeon Cowdrey.

Shortly after the arrival of the party at Senegal, in November, 1815, Major Peddie proceeded to Sierra Leone to concert measures with Governor MacCarthy respecting the Black Troops intended to accompany the party into the interior, and he decided on remaining at Senegal until the ensuing year.

Surgeon Cowdrey soon fell a victim to the climate, and Major W. Gray, of the Royal African Corps, joined the Expedition, February, 1816, in his stead.

Major Peddie's first step was to despatch a messenger with a letter to the King of Sego, informing the King of his intention to visit him, and begging he would send some of his chiefs to Senegal to conduct the Expedition into his territories.

Captain Campbell went to Sierra Leone in March, 1816, for the purpose of acquiring information respecting the path through Futa Djallon, and on his return so strongly urged Major Peddie to enter the country for the interior from the Rio Nunez, that he decided on doing so, and fixed the middle of November for their departure.

On 17th November, 1816, the Expedition, having with it a party of soldiers and civilians numbering 100 men and a train of 200 animals, left Senegal, and calling at Goree, arrived after a passage of sixteen days at KaKundy, a factory belonging to a Mr. Pearce, on the left bank of the Rio Nunez.

Sickness broke out here among the Europeans, and on 1st January, 1817, Major Peddie died. The command was then assumed by Captain Campbell. The day previous to Major Peddie's death, the Expedition was joined by Lieutenant Stokoe, Royal Navy, Hospital-Assistant Nelson, and Lieutenant MacRae, of the Royal African Corps.

Mr. Thomas Buckle, Member of Council, accompanied

the new arrivals, having been sent by Governor MacCarthy with presents to Mr. Pearce, and he was to afford the Expedition every facility for its departure from KaKundy.

Lieutenant MacRae died of fever on 21st January.

On 1st February, the Expedition began its march from KaKundy, and a week later Captain Campbell was informed it was the Almami's orders that a white man should be sent on in advance to Teembo to explain to him the object of the Expedition in entering his dominions, and at the same time forbidding its nearer approach until he should be perfectly satisfied on that subject.

Captain Campbell did not conceive it requisite to send an officer, and despatched on 10th February one of the native serjeants who had been before employed by the Governor of Sierra Leone on similar occasions.

On 2nd May, Lamina, the messenger sent by Major Peddie to Sego from Senegal, came to the camp, and informed Captain Campbell that the Almami had given permission for the Expedition to pass through his country, and had also given directions to collect carriers to convey the baggage. This, however, was not acted upon, and as nothing could be obtained but promises not intended to be performed, with the view of detaining the party until the state of the country, occasioned by the rains, would prevent its moving in any direction, Captain Campbell, who was himself very ill, came to the decision of retracing his steps to the coast.

Captain Campbell died 13th June, and was buried by the side of his friend and companion, Major Peddie.

When the Expedition arrived at Sierra Leone, the provisions were well nigh exhausted. On its landing at Freetown, however, Governor MacCarthy omitted nothing that could tend in any way to relieve the sufferers.

Lieutenant Stokoe, on whom the command then devolved, set out by the Porto Lokkoh path, with the intention of going to Teembo to arrange, if possible, for the passage of the Expedition to the Niger. In this however he failed, and returned to Sierra Leone, where he died after a short illness.

Such was the state of the Expedition when, at the end of the rainy season, 1817, Major Gray undertook to conduct it, with Staff-Surgeon Dochard second in com-

mand. The party sailed on board the Colonial brig "Discovery," from Sierra Leone for the Gambia on 14th December, 1817.

Governor MacCarthy had ordered the purchase at Senegal of fifteen camels for the use of the Expedition, and when these animals and some horses had arrived it left Bathurst on 3rd March, 1818.

The party arrived at Boolibany, the capital of Bondoo, in June, where it remained a considerable time. The European soldiers suffered from fever and dysentery, and two of the officers, Mr. Nelson and Mr. Burton, died after a short illness.

In July, 1818, Surgeon Dochard, with an escort of a serjeant and seven rank and file, proceeded to Sego, to obtain permission to proceed to the interior, taking with him handsome presents for Dhaa, the King.

The Expedition was however prevented by the Almami from proceeding through Bambarra, until the war with the Massina Foulahs terminated.

Surgeon Dochard returned to Kaarta from Sego, July, 1820, in ill-health, where he was met by Major Gray. Having fruitlessly endeavoured to procure the supplies wanted, and seeing the utter impossibility of proceeding with the whole Expedition, Major Gray came to the determination of sending Mr. Dochard to the coast, and the party embarked on board the fleet returning to St. Louis in September, 1820.

Major Gray decided on making another attempt to proceed into the interior, and selected a European serjeant-major of the African Corps and fourteen men of colour to accompany him, but he failed to accomplish his mission. All hopes of being able to pass Kaarta vanished, he left that place for the coast in May, 1821, and arrived at Sierra Leone in November.

On 6th July, 1818, the Isles de Los, to the north of the peninsula, and about seventy-five miles from Freetown, consisting of Factory, Crawfords, Jamara, Whites and Coral Islands, were ceded to Great Britain by treaty between Governor MacCarthy and Munga Demba, King of the Bago country and his chieftains.

The Government regarded these islands as a possible sanatorium, the climate being considered fairly good and the locality suitable.

There were large additions to the population of the

Colony besides the liberated Africans in the year 1819.

In January of that year eighty-five slaves landed from Barbadoes, who had taken part in the insurrection which broke out in that island. Nearly the whole of them had been condemned to death, but were pardoned and ordered to be transported to the Bay of Honduras. The inhabitants were however so much alarmed at their arrival that on representation being made to the Home Government, the convicts were removed to Sierra Leone.

The circumstances under which these men were received in the settlement rendered it necessary to retain them for a time under some restrictions, and they appear consequently to have been employed on public works between two and three years after their arrival. At the expiration of this time they were permitted to employ themselves for their own benefit.

In April, 1819, the 4th West India Regiment arrived in Sierra Leone from the West Indies, and the regiment was disbanded on reduction, and located in the Colony. These, together with some Black soldiers, discharged from the 2nd West India Regiment, added 1,030 to the colonial population.

The majority of these people were located at Free-town, probably with a view to the defence of the capital of the Colony in case of need. This precluded the possibility of their becoming agriculturists on their own account, as the small town lots offered no facilities in this respect.

On 25th May, 1819, the territory and lands known under the name of Mar Porto and Ro Bomp, situated on the left bank of the Bance River, were ceded to Great Britain by treaty between Governor MacCarthy and Pa London and his chieftains.

This led to the foundation of the villages of Waterloo and Hastings, and some of the discharged soldiers and their families were settled in them. Other villages were formed as the necessity arose.

In June, 1819, Mixed Commission Courts, constituted under the provision of the treaties between Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and Brazil, were established at Sierra Leone, for the adjudication of vessels of all those nations taken in the slave trade. For this reason the Court was placed under the Foreign

Office, and superseded the Prize Courts (or Vice-Admiralty Court), then in force. Against the decision of these Courts there was no appeal.

The staff of the British Court consisted of a Commissary Judge (salary £3,000 per annum), a Commissioner of Arbitration (at £1,000 a-year), and a Registrar (at £500 a-year).

On 21st July, 1820, the Banana Islands,* lying off the southern promontory of the peninsula, and about thirty miles from Freetown, were ceded to Great Britain by treaty between Governor MacCarthy and Pa London and Thomas Caulker. Later on it was found that Stephen Caulker had interest in these Islands, and therefore on 20th October, 1820, another treaty ceding the Banana Islands was entered into between Captain A. Grant, the Acting-Governor, and Thomas Caulker and George Stephen Caulker, Sherbro' chieftains.

The Quiah country at one time comprised the Banana Islands, the Peninsula of Sierra Leone, and the western bank of the Sierra Leone River as far as Rosoloh creek, which separates it from the Masimerah country. During the time of the slave trade the Banana Islands were leased by the then King to a European merchant named Caulker, who was extensively engaged in this traffic. He occupied them and the Plantain Islands for several years, and having taken native wives, became the head of the Caulker family.

In 1817, the "American Colonisation Society" for colonising the free people of colour of the United States, despatched two Missionaries to West Africa, with instructions to make Sierra Leone their head-quarters, while they should explore the coast, consult with the natives, and see if a good spot could be bought at a fair price for the purpose of forming a Colony.

In March, 1818, the American Missionaries arrived at Sierra Leone, where they were kindly received. They

* It was at the Bananas that John Newton landed in 1746, like one shipwrecked, with little more than the clothes upon his back. His future career, sketched in his epitaph, written by himself, may be read on the walls of St. Mary Woolnoth Church, of which he was so many years the Rector. "John Newton, once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa, was, by the rich mercy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, preserved, restored, pardoned and appointed to preach the faith he had long laboured to destroy."

He was the author of the "Olney Hymns," etc.

proceeded to Sherbro to consult with the chiefs there, and after the usual palaver and presents, King Sherbro agreed to sell a tract of land, the terms of which were to be settled on the arrival of the colonists.

In January, 1820, the emigrants, thirty families numbering eighty-nine persons embarked at New York for West Africa, and upon their arrival at Sierra Leone, the Governor received them cordially and offered to expedite their plans by all the means in his power. The settlers landed at Sherbro, but the island proved to be so unhealthy, the Agents and one-fourth of the settlers having died of disease incidental to the climate, that it was decided to abandon the Sherbro country and seek a more healthy location. The aid of the Colonial Authorities having been sought for temporary accommodation for the settlers within the limits of the Colony, until a better and more permanent situation could be provided for them, the house and lands of the late Assistant-Commissary-General Le Febvre at Fourah Bay being available were rented for that purpose.

A new exploration of the coast was necessary. Another station being fixed upon at Cape Mesurado, an Agreement was entered into on 15th December, 1821, between the Native Kings and Captain Stockton, of the U. S. warship "Alligator," granting to the Colonisation Society a tract of land suitable for their new Colony. In due time the colonists at Fourah Bay were removed to their new home, and on the 25th April, 1822, the American Flag* was hoisted on Cape Mesurado. Thus was founded the Negro settlement of Liberia.

It would be unfair though to ignore an effort which was made in the direction of colonising American Negroes in Africa at an earlier date, and the causes that led to it. Whilst Granville Sharp is considered in Eng-

* On 24th August, 1847, the flag of the Republic of Liberia was hoisted. The flag consists of six red stripes, with five white ones alternately displayed longitudinally. In the upper angle of the flag, next to the spear, is a square blue ground, covering in depth five stripes, in the centre of which is one lone white star.

The imprint of its seal is a dove on the wing with an open scroll in its claws; a view of the Ocean with a ship under sail; the sun just emerging from the waters; a palm tree, and at its base a plough and a spade. Beneath the emblems are the words *Republic of Liberia*; and above, the national motto, *The Love of Liberty brought us here.*

land to be the projector of the Sierra Leone Colony of Negroes, as early as 1773 Dr. Hopkins, of Rhodes Island, and Dr. Thornton, of Virginia, in 1787, had both ventilated similar plans, but rather as missionary efforts, and it is not improbable that the first idea of the Colony of Sierra Leone was suggested by their writings.

However that may be, there is no doubt that the influence of their opinion was felt in America, and led to emigration thence to Africa before Liberia was settled. Paul Cuffee, a man of colour, born at New Bedford, Massachusetts, who was much interested in the promotion of the civil and religious liberty of his coloured brethren in their native land, had become familiar with the ideas of these philanthropists as well as with the movement in the same direction in England. Being a navigator, and owning his own ship, in 1811 he sailed to Sierra Leone, where he was well received, and in the same year reached Liverpool, with his black crew, on the invitation of the great Liberationists, Clarkson, Wilberforce, &c. In 1815, he again sailed from Boston, U.S.A., for Sierra Leone with thirty-eight freed Negroes only eight of whom could pay their own expenses, who were kindly received on arrival. The cost of the remaining thirty, some £4,000, was defrayed by the noble-minded Paul Cuffee himself.

With the name of the friends of African colonisation, Paul Cuffee's should be held in high admiration, not only as being the first man to conduct Negro emigrants from the United States to Africa, but also for the singular generosity with which he carried out his ideas. It is stated that he continued to work up his plans for the benefit of the freed Negroes in his own land, and that at the time of his death, in 1817, he had no less than 2,000 names of intending emigrants on his list.

In July, 1820, Governor MacCarthy, after a service of eight years in West Africa, handed over the government of the Colony to Captain Grant, 2nd West India Regiment, the senior military officer, and proceeded to England upon a well-earned leave of absence, and as a reward for his services was knighted.

Captain Grant held office until Lieut.-Colonel E. Burke's arrival in the Colony on 1st February, 1821.

Two days later Colonel Burke returned to Europe owing to ill-health, and Captain Grant again admin-

istered the government until Sir Charles MacCarthy's return.

The Expeditions to the interior under Major Peddie and Major Gray had one good result, for they led to important communications being addressed to the Sierra Leone Government from two of the principal chiefs, resulting in open roads to the Colony and increased trade.

One of these documents was from Almami Abdullah, Mori Alli, and the persons of note, good men of Teembo and Fouta who love peace, entreating the interference of the Governor for the restoration of peace between two chiefs of the Mandingo country, Amara the Almami and Sanusi, an inferior chief, whose quarrels interrupted the route from Teembo to Sierra Leone.

The other letter alluded to was from King Dhaa of Bambarra, residing at Sego, on the occasion of his sending a messenger to the Governor of Sierra Leone, requesting a safe conduct for him to the British settlement.

The letter from the Almami of Teembo, referred to, led to a mission from the Colony to that chief. Mr. O'Beirne, Assistant staff Surgeon, offered his services for this purpose to the Acting-Governor. He reached Teembo on the 11th March, and was cordially received. A Grand Palaver was held, at which it was determined to embrace the opportunity presented of forming a regular commercial intercourse with the Colony by way of Porto Lokkoh.

Mr. O'Beirne returned to Freetown on the 18th of April, accompanied by a number of chiefs and traders, and on April 28th a Grand Palaver took place at Government House, at which about one hundred natives from the interior, including twenty chiefs, were present, and which ended to the satisfaction of all parties.

The object of the Palaver was, in the first place, an interchange of amity, and a reciprocal declaration of alliance connected with the establishment of the new path; and next, the arrangement of a general basis of trade between the Colony and Futah Djallon.

Mr. O'Beirne met at Teembo, with the King of Bambarra's messenger, on his journey to the Colony. He had with him three men of the late Royal African Corps who accompanied from the Colony Surgeon Dochard, when he proceeded with the Expedition under Major

Gray, and were inadvertently left behind when that officer quitted Bammakoo on the Niger.

The *Sierra Leone Gazette*, in referring to the importance of the missions of Surgeons Dochart and O'Beirne, says:—

“The friendly intercourse which the establishment of this Colony has brought about with the surrounding nations, and with those also of the Interior, will ensure the safety of a traveller for many hundred miles from the coast; so that an individual, starting with such great advantages, may be supposed merely to commence his travels when he departs from Sego to explore more distant countries in the Interior.

“The honourable and prudent line of conduct observed by Assistant Staff Surgeon Dochart, in the countries through which he passed to and from Sego, and during his long residence on the banks of the Niger, has materially contributed to facilitate the future attempts and exertions of enterprising adventurers in the cause of African discovery: and has, likewise, inspired the natives of these distant countries with that confidence and good will toward us which now lead them, day after day, to visit our Settlements, and to cement more firmly the growing attachment to ourselves, to our lawful commerce and to our noble institutions.

“The mission which was so successfully performed by Assistant Staff Surgeon O'Beirne, to Almami, king of the Foulah nation, has promoted, in a very eminent degree, the leading objects which the Local Government has so long struggled to obtain.

“Independently of the commercial advantages which daily flow from the friendly intercourse established by the wise and correct proceedings of these gentlemen, we have reason to expect, from their talents and attainments, communications of the highest interest.

“It was a just reproach to this Colony for a long period that no one ventured forward in the cause of African discovery, nor attempted, by personal exertion, to extend and enlarge our commercial intercourse with the Interior. That reproach is now happily removed.

“The reasonings by which we supported our preference of the route of Sierra Leone and Teembo above all others for penetrating into the interior of Africa, however convincing they might have been to ourselves, and however apparently unanswerable by others, would probably be, in great measure, attributed to partiality for this Colony; but when a prince in the interior of Africa, altogether unaware of Mr. O'Beirne's mission, despatches a similar mission at the same moment for the same object, so that both meet at a midway station, each anticipating the other, it is surely impossible not to be struck with the coincidence.

"His calculations must be equally free from partiality and from speculative refinement—suggested by obvious interest, and guided by plain facts; consequently, no further question can be made of the superior advantages of a communication from Sierra Leone to the Niger through Teembo in comparison with any other route: whether we regard the interest of the natives or the objects of Europeans in establishing and cultivating a connection with them. In future, therefore, the sole care will be to make the best use of the line of intercourse thus providentially opened."

On the return of Sir Charles MacCarthy to Sierra Leone in November, 1821, he learnt that the war in the Mandingo country not only remained unsettled, but that it had gradually assumed a more serious character, and had latterly interrupted the trade between that country and the Colony of Sierra Leone.

Accordingly, in January, 1822, Lieutenant Laing, of the 2nd West India Regiment (known afterwards as Major Laing, African traveller), was instructed to proceed on an embassy to Kambia, in the Skarcies River, and to the Mandingo territory with the object of ascertaining the state of the country, the disposition of the inhabitants to trade and industry, and to learn their sentiments and conduct concerning the abolition of the slave trade. He was also instructed to enquire into the true cause of the war, and to see the chiefs and advise them to make peace.

Lieutenant Laing fulfilled the purposes of the mission and returned to Freetown.

Shortly after his return, however, reports of rather an alarming nature respecting the safety of Sanusi were circulated at Sierra Leone, and the Governor being desirous of saving Sanusi's life, Lieutenant Laing left Freetown early in February, 1822, on a mission to the camp of the Mandingos and Sulimas, with a request to the General of the Sulima Army to set Sanusi at liberty. On arrival at the camp, Lieutenant Laing learned from the King that Sanusi had been set at liberty after the burning of the King's town, Malaghea, and plunder of his property.

Lieutenant Laing mentioned to the Governor his having observed that many men who accompanied the Sulima army were in possession of considerable quantities of gold, and learned from enquiries made among them that ivory was also abundant in Sulima. He sug-

gested to Sir Charles MacCarthy that the opening of an intercourse between these people and the Colony might be advantageous to commerce.

The Governor and Council approved of the suggestion. Accordingly, Lieutenant Laing and his party, consisting of a native of Futah Djallon, two soldiers of the 2nd West India Regiment, eleven carriers, natives of the Jolof country, and a boy, a native of Sego, quitted Sierra Leone on the 16th of April, 1822, travelling by the course of the river Rokelle, and from thence through the Koranko country, and on June the 11th the party arrived at Falaba, the capital of the Sulima country, situated about two hundred miles East by North of Sierra Leone.

Laing acquainted the King with the object of his mission, which was to open up trade between his country and the Colony, and the desire of Sir Charles MacCarthy to establish a good understanding with him and with all the nations of Africa.

The presents made to the King pleased him much, and consisted of the following among other articles :—

A cocked hat with a gold band, a laced coat, a medal of King George IV., and a silver chain ; and in return he sent to the Governor various ornaments of gold, about £70 in value ; twelve large elephant tusks, some very beautiful Sangara cloths, and a horse and saddle.

Lieutenant Laing left Falaba on 17th of September, and reached Sierra Leone 29th October, 1822, after, apparently, a most satisfactory visit, and his account of the Timini country at this time is very interesting.* He says :—

“ The extent of the Timini country from east to west may be computed at ninety miles; and its breadth, north and south, about fifty-five miles. It is bounded on the east by Koranko; on the west by Sierra Leone, Bullom, and the Ocean; on the north by the Mandingo and Limba countries; and south by Bullom and Koranko. It is watered by the River Skarcies and the Rokelle branch of the Sierra Leone River. It is divided into four districts, each having its independent chief.”

* *Travels in West Africa*, by Major A. G. Laing, 1825.

In 1826 Major Laing crossed the desert from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, but on his return to the coast he was treacherously murdered.

Of the natives of this country Laing gives a very unfavourable account. Of the character of the Timinis he had not a high opinion, as he considered them lazy, lying and licentious.

During this journey Laing traversed some 200 miles into the interior with a view to promoting free communication between the tribes of the interior themselves, and between them and Sierra Leone. That he was successful in his mission we know, for soon after his return both Sulimas and Foulahs came down to Sierra Leone with gold, and took back merchandise, whilst caravans from Foulah and Bambarra passed down to the coast, probably to the Skarcies River.

But the moral influence of Laing's journey was even greater, for throughout the long line of his march, with rare exceptions, the white man from Sierra Leone became the recognised harbinger of peace, and so, with O'Beirne, he laid the foundations for all real progress in the hinterland of the Colony in the future.

On the 7th May, 1821, an Act of Parliament (1st and 2nd Geo. IV., Cap. 28) was passed for abolishing the African Company and transferring to and vesting in the Crown all the Forts, Possessions, and Property then belonging to or held by them.

By this Act power was given to order and direct that all or any of the said Forts and Possessions, as also any Territories on the West Coast of Africa, between the 20th degree of North latitude and the 20th degree of South latitude, which did then, or which might thereafter, belong to His Majesty, should be annexed to, and made Dependencies on, the Colony of Sierra Leone.

The reasons assigned for passing the Act were that the whole expense of the management of the Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast, had for many years past been entirely defrayed by sums granted by Parliament, the African Company having no funds whatever out of which these expenses could be defrayed, and having no beneficial interest in the said Forts or Settlements.

The Charter, dated at Westminster, 17th October, 1821, constituting the Colony of Sierra Leone and its Dependencies was proclaimed at Sierra Leone on February the 28th, 1822.

In consequence of the African Company's possessions at the Gambia and the Gold Coast being made depen-

dencies on the Colony of Sierra Leone, the Governor-in-Chief of the West African Settlements was required to visit them and report upon them from time to time.

In March, 1822, Sir Charles MacCarthy proceeded to the Gold Coast, and on assuming the government there, March the 29th, the Charter of 1821 was duly proclaimed at Cape Coast Castle, the seat of government. The African Company's forts to be placed under the government of Sierra Leone were eight in number.*

The new Governor despatched messengers to the King of Ashanti with the customary presents and announcing his assumption of office. To provide for the defence of the Forts he formed the native troops in the service of the late Company into a Colonial corps, styled the "Royal African Colonial Corps." and departed for Sierra Leone early in May.

In November, 1822, a sergeant of the African Corps was kidnapped by the Ashantis at Anamabo and kept prisoner until the following February, when he was put to death at Dunquah.

Meantime, in December, 1822, Sir Charles MacCarthy returned to Cape Coast from Sierra Leone, bringing troops with him to punish this outrage, and, if possible, obtain surrender of the prisoner; and in February, 1823, an expeditionary force started for Dunquah for the purpose, but the object of the expedition failed, and the Governor in May, 1823, sailed for the Gambia direct, returning to Sierra Leone on 17th July, 1823.

But, shortly after the Governor's departure from Gold Coast, a large Ashanti force crossed the Prah, and invaded British territory. In November, 1823, Sir Charles MacCarthy returned to Cape Coast Castle with troops, and on January the 9th, 1824, under-rating his enemy, he took the field with a small force to oppose the advance of the Ashantis. In the battle of Assamako, which ensued on 21st January, Sir Charles MacCarthy was defeated and killed, with Ensign Wetherall, 2nd West India Regiment, who was Private Secretary, and Mr. Buckle, Colonial Engineer of Sierra Leone. The regulars and militia engaged in the battle suffered severely.

* Cape Coast, Anamabo, Accra, Kommenda, Dixcove, Sekondi, Prampram, and Tantankwerri.

In announcing his death to the people of Sierra Leone the Council (Messrs. D. M. Hamilton, J. Ruffell, and K. Macaulay) made the following fitting reference to Sir Charles MacCarthy :—

“ The unwearied attention which he devoted to his government and the fostering care which he extended to those placed under his command, have so sensibly endeared him to every class of the inhabitants of this Colony, that time alone can soften their grief or mitigate their sorrow. It may, indeed, be truly said that, in him his country has lost a brave and highly talented officer: while Africa and Africa's sons are doomed to mourn the death of one who has ever shown himself their warmest friend and benefactor.”

The address of the Acting-Chief Justice at the Quarter Sessions, held soon after his death, was a remarkable testimony also to the great qualities of the Governor who, for nearly ten years—a longer period than any Governor ever ruled Sierra Leone—did more for the benefit of the people of the West Coast of Africa than any man before or since.

So great indeed was the native appreciation of his fine character and bravery, that even his enemies, the Ashantis, to this day have no more sacred oath than that which they swear by Sir Charles MacCarthy, and the same is the case with several tribes in our own Protectorate on the Gold Coast.

During his absence, however, in May, 1823, an epidemic resembling the worst species of yellow fever broke out in the Colony, which proved fatal to eighty-nine Europeans out of one hundred and fifty. Three medical officers belonging to the Garrison were carried off within a fortnight. The Chief Justice, the Acting-Colonial Secretary, a Member of Council, the Second Colonial Chaplain, and some of the Missionaries were numbered with the dead. Sir Charles MacCarthy, however, in a letter addressed to the Church Missionary Society, dated 13th September, 1823, makes the following remarkable statement, that whereas it had been said that 200 or 300 coloured natives had died during the epidemic “ according to the official report of the principal Medical Officer, not one man of colour, not a woman or a child, died of that disease.”

That the Colony was making steady advances in spite

of its trials may be gathered from the fact that the Chief Justice, shortly before his death, at a Quarter Sessions stated that whilst ten years earlier, with a population of 4,000, there were forty cases on the calendar for trial, to-day, with a population of 16,000, there were but six. He congratulated the authorities on the moral improvement of the Colony; and pointed especially to the fact that there was not a case from the villages, which were then under the superintendence of Missionaries or Schoolmasters.

He also showed his confidence in the people by making enquiries as to whether any inhabitants of the villages were qualified to sit on Juries. Several were named, and were duly called to sit, and these first experiments having proved satisfactory, Jurors were called from the villages in regular proportion with those on the Jury list of Freetown.

The various Missionaries were requested to act as Superintendents under Government of their districts.

When Governor MacCarthy assumed the Government in July, 1814, the estimated population of the Colony was 5,520, but upon a Census of the Colony being taken on January the 1st, 1822, the population, exclusive of the military, numbered 15,081, including 128 whites.

At the end of Sir Charles MacCarthy's government, we have in the Parliamentary Returns,* the following official records of the condition of the Colony. The total number of slaves captured and landed at Sierra Leone in the period from January, 1814, to January, 1824, was 8,575 males and 4,190 females, or an average for the ten years of nearly 1,300 per annum. Of the grand total 12,765, there were 11,708 settled in the Colony, 986 entered the Army and Navy, 41 returned to their country by leave of the Governor, and 30 were sent to Isles de Los and the Gambia to be settled there.

With regard to these re-captured negroes, Sir Charles MacCarthy gave up apprenticing them, except in particular cases, and adopted the plan of forming them into villages under such civil superintendence and religious instruction as he could command, keeping the youths or children in schools, or making mechanics of them.

No duties were demanded or collected prior to 8th

* Parliamentary papers Nos. 362 of May, 1825, and 520 of July, 1825

August, 1811. The sum received from that date to 31st December, 1823, amounted to £48,270, or an average of £4,000 per annum ; and the Parliamentary grants of money for the Civil Establishment of the Colony during the sixteen years 1808-1823 averaged £17,000 per annum.

Returns of Imports and Exports do not appear to have been regularly kept prior to the year 1817. The value of goods imported into the Colony 1817 to 1824 amounted to £707,677, giving an average for the eight years of £88,460 per annum.

The goods exported consisted principally of African teak, red-wood, camwood, shingles, palm-oil, elephant's teeth and scivelloes, sea-horse teeth, gold dust, hides, white and red rice, beeswax, malaghetta pepper, and gum copal, but it is stated that no portion scarcely of these exports are the produce of Sierra Leone, to the exception of the shingles out in the liberated African villages, unless the timber which is grown in the country of the natives upon the banks of the river is so considered.

The rate of wages usually paid was 9*d.* or 10*d.* per diem for labourers, and 2*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* per diem to artificers, according to their abilities. These rates were, however, likely to be reduced, very few of the artificers finding employment at the wages they had been accustomed to.

There were no means of ascertaining the number of persons subsisting by the produce of their own labour in the Colony generally, the liberated Africans settled under Superintendents in the several villages, being the only persons under the immediate view of the Colonial Government.

There were thirty-two vessels ranging from eighty-eight to five tons belonging to the inhabitants, and fourteen boats employed by fishermen, besides a great number of Kroo canoes.

The total number of persons receiving education in the town or village schools of the Colony on 31st December, 1823, was 2,460.

There were twenty-four buildings used as Churches or Chapels and Schools, and the total number of persons usually attending public worship in them on Sundays was 5,818.

Before proceeding further, it may not be amiss to retrace our steps a little, to take up the subject of Missionary efforts in Sierra Leone.

The great Missionary movement in Western Africa set in with the Portuguese conquests in the fifteenth century. The Rev. Henry Rowley, in *Africa Unveiled* (1876) states that "during the latter part of the fifteenth, the whole of the sixteenth, and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese alone showed energy and zeal for the conversion of the Africans. Not only at Congo, Angola, and Loango, but also at Cape Lopez, St. Thomas, Fernando Po, Waree, Benin, Whydah, Elmina, Sierra Leone, Goree, Senegal and elsewhere they carried on mission work; but at none of these places can any results of their efforts be found at the present day."

Marshall, in his *Christian Missions* (1862), states that the decline of the Portuguese Missions was "because, in consequence of the constant mortality of the missionaries, the forcible suppression at a later period of religious societies in various parts of Europe, and the total absence during a long course of years of apostolic teachers, there was no one left to maintain them." He adds: "it was the special misfortune of Western Africa to be connected with an empire already corrupted, faithless to Catholic traditions, and rapidly hastening to ignominious decay, owing to the gradual extinction of all religious principles amongst its rulers: and Proyart was probably not mistaken when he said that the immoralities of the Portuguese accelerated the ruin of their missions in Africa."

Little is known of the work of evangelisation at Sierra Leone during its occupation by the Portuguese. Purchas, in his *Pilgrimages, or Relations of the World* (1626) states that—

"Anno 1604 certain Jesuites were sent into these parts, the chiefe of which was Balthasar Barrerius, who converted some of those negroes to the Romish Christian profession. One of which was the king at Sierra Leona, christened with the name Philip, his Father a man of an hundred and thirtie yeeres, about the same time finishing his life. A letter of this Philip unto King Philip of Spaine is published by Jarrie, in which he desireth more priests to be sent into those parts, offers him to build a castle at the Cape, and concludeth with wishing him as many years as the heaven hath stars and the sea sands."

In a previous chapter mention is made of Missionary labours during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, taken from the accounts of writers who visited Sierra Leone, 1607-1786, but the efforts to Christianise the natives were not very successful. On this head there seems to be little doubt that in Sierra Leone, at all events, the slave trade more than anything else retarded religious progress during the period referred to.

In Mr. Thornton's statement of the condition of the Colony in 1792 (Chapter II.) it will be seen that this wicked traffic opposed itself to all progress, and a quarter of a century later we find that the Missionaries in the rivers north of Sierra Leone were compelled to take refuge in the Colony in consequence of the slave trade.

It was only when the trade was abolished, and the Missionaries came within the protected area, that headway was made and their labours bore fruit.

The visits of the priests from the Portuguese settlement at the Rio Pongo apparently ceased upon the arrival, in 1787, of the first English settlers, and we hear nothing more of Catholic Missions in Sierra Leone until the year 1859.

The Protestant Church of England was first represented at Sierra Leone in 1787. In that year, the Rev. P. Fraser, originally a member of the Scottish Church, was, at his own request, allowed to accompany the first settlers to Sierra Leone, but he returned to Europe in the following year, owing to ill-health, and was not replaced.

In 1791, when the Colony was first projected, two clergymen of the Church of England were engaged as chaplains. They continued in the service of the Sierra Leone Company for about two years, when they quitted the Colony on account of ill-health and did not return.

The Protestant congregation must have been confined to the few Europeans, as the Nova Scotian settlers were Sectarians, belonging to the Methodist, Baptist, and Huntingdon denominations, and after their arrival in the Colony they attended Divine Service under the ministry of some of their own members.

In 1794 and 1795 ministers of the Church of Scotland were appointed chaplains.

In 1795 the Baptist Missionary Society sent out two

clergymen. They commenced their labours at Porto Lokkoh and at the Banana Islands, but owing to ill-health they soon returned to Europe.

In 1796 several mechanics of the Methodist connexion were sent out to instruct the natives of the Foulah country, but during the voyage dissensions sprang up among them, and in consequence they soon returned to Europe.

In 1797 the Missionary Societies of London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow sent two clergymen each to Sierra Leone for work in the Foulah country, but owing to some unhappy differences between them, and it being discovered the Foulah people were engaged in war, the Missionaries proceeded to Bullom, Rio Pongo, and the Banana Islands. The labours of these good men in Africa were soon at an end, four being summoned to their rest, and two returned to Europe.

The first European missionary of the Wesleyan denomination, the Rev. George Warren, accompanied by three school teachers, arrived in Sierra Leone on the 12th of November, 1811. They found about a hundred persons who were in the habit of meeting together for religious worship in a chapel they had already built, and who called themselves Methodists. Mr. Warren died about eight months after his arrival in the Colony. More than two years elapsed before a suitable missionary was found for the vacant station.

In 1799 was founded the "Society for Missions to Africa and the East," known as the Church Missionary Society, and the leading members of the Sierra Leone Company were among the founders, William Wilberforce being the first President, and Henry Thornton, the first Treasurer of the new Society. West Africa was selected by the Society for its first missionary work, and it was decided to make a beginning in the Susu country, the Susu language being spoken throughout an immense tract of country in Western Africa.

It was not, however, easy for the Society to provide men for the work they undertook. The position is well described by a negro clergyman at a public meeting in London, 1899. The Rev. James Johnson,* native pastor of Lagos, who was invited to England by the Church

* Assistant Bishop in Western Equatorial Africa, 1900.

Missionary Society, as a representative of the West African Churches to the Centenary Celebration of that Society, spoke of the difficulties which the Society had to contend with in those days in the following terms :—

“The climate of West Africa had earned for itself a very bad name, and Sierra Leone was spoken of generally as ‘The White Man’s Grave,’ whilst the material upon which the work was to be done was not an attractive material. It was composed of ex-slaves, slaves dragged out of the holds of slave ships and set at liberty by the philanthropy of England, slaves in the lowest condition of life, ignorant and debased : slaves brutalized far more than they were in their own native land by the cruel Transatlantic slave trade. This was the material, and I am not surprised that there was so great a reluctance on the part of Christians in England, and Christians in Europe generally, to embark in work in Africa.”

On the subject of the unhealthiness of the climate, Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, Member of the Legislative Council, and who had acted as Governor, makes the following apposite remarks in his pamphlet, 1827, *The Colony of Sierra Leone Vindicated* :—

“That as the unhealthiness of Sierra Leone has become a topic of discussion and held out as an object of dread, the proportion of deaths in the latter years has much increased. I cannot help attributing much of the more recent mortality among the missionaries in the first two years of their residence in the Colony to a morbid state of mind. Other men go out filled with the hope of realizing a little property and returning home ; that object occupies their thoughts ; sickness is never feared till it comes ; and then the natural buoyancy of youth and the ardent expectation of the individual, do more towards recovery than all the medicines or doctors in the Colony.

“Very different are the feelings of the missionary : his mind is strongly impressed with a dread of the Colony : he looks on himself as sent on a forlorn hope : he considers sickness and death in a few years as a certainty : by brooding on the subject he often brings on slight indisposition, which his imagination exaggerates into a serious illness, when a man of a more ardent temperament and a more elastic turn of mind would throw it off with facility. When to this desponding state of mind are added the enervating and enfeebling effects, both mental and bodily, of severe fever, I have no doubt that many of the sufferers secretly wish the struggle was over and their course was run : and instead of the least attempt to rally their fainting spirits, they quietly resign themselves to the arms of death.”

Failing to procure suitable clergymen of the Church

of England to labour in Sierra Leone, for the reasons stated, and owing to an opinion prevailing that all attempts to elevate the negroes of Western Africa in the social scale must prove fruitless, the Committee turned to Germany, where they obtained the men they wanted, ordained according to the Lutheran rite, and who were trained mechanics to boot.

In 1804 the Church Missionary Society's first missionaries, two Lutheran clergymen, arrived in Sierra Leone, and shortly afterwards proceeded to Rio Pongos, about one hundred and twenty miles north west of the Colony. More Lutheran clergymen followed for work at Bullom and Rio Pongos, but beyond providing a minister to discharge the duties of Colonial Chaplain at Freetown, the Society took no steps for the work of evangelisation in the Colony itself until 1815, when the Christian Institution on Leicester Mountain, about three miles from Freetown, was opened for the instruction of children of both sexes. The children were employed half the day at school, and half the day at work, the boys being instructed in trades and the girls in such occupation as suited their condition. They were supported at the rate of five pounds per annum for each child by benefactors in England, who had the privilege of affixing names to the children.*

These Lutheran clergymen braved the climate and did their Master's bidding. It must however have been uphill work with them, for their knowledge of the King's English was not great, most of them had English wives, and their missionary work was carried on among a people speaking divers tongues.

Shortly after Governor MacCarthy's arrival in the Colony, he represented that Europeans were much

* This method of obtaining funds raises a smile when we are met every day by negroes bearing the names of Macaulay, Wilberforce, Hannah More, Noel, etc., etc. To it there could be no absolute objection, but it is a great pity that the native names were not also retained, and many of the people of Sierra Leone now see this for themselves. Whilst on this subject a still more amusing result arose from the naming of negroes on enlistment as can be easily understood. Native names were of course inconvenient where many men bore the same patronymic, the recruits were therefore given names taken at random from the army list, and consequently it occurred often that there were officers and men of the same name in the same regiment.

needed to superintend the settlers and captured negroes in Freetown and in the villages of the peninsula. He subsequently put forward a plan for the division of the Colony into parishes, and suggested that the Missionaries at the Rio Pongos should be so employed, as he entertained considerable doubts of the probability of operating any improvement in either of the rivers near Sierra Leone, so long as we had not factories there supported by military force.

The Committee of the Church Missionary Society, desiring to be fully informed as to the actual state of affairs in Africa, sent out to Sierra Leone, early in 1816, the Rev. E. Bickersteth, Assistant-Secretary to the Society, with instructions to report accordingly.

Mr. Bickersteth arrived in Sierra Leone on 7th March, 1816, and after visiting the Isles de Los, Rio Pongos, Bullom and other places adjacent to the Colony he returned to Europe. Upon arrival in England he presented to the Committee a report of his visit, together with some suggestions for the future conduct of the mission which were supported by the Governor.

Memorials were presented to the Secretary for the Colonies by the Church Missionary Society on the subject of the erection of Churches owing to the increase in population, and that the chaplain's salary should be raised, as no reasonable supposition could be entertained that for an inferior salary any clergyman of the Church of England could be induced to engage in the important duties required of him in such a settlement.

The Governor's recommendations, as well as those of the Society, met with the approval of the Government. In 1817, owing to the revival of the slave trade in the rivers, the Missionaries withdrew from the Settlements formed there and took refuge in Sierra Leone. From that time the Church Missionary Society's work was concentrated on Sierra Leone. The division of the Colony into parishes speedily took place, and schools were opened in each parish.

The parishes with their corresponding towns were:—

St. George's	...	...	Freetown.
St. Andrew's	...	...	Gloucester.
St. James's	...	...	Bathurst.
St. Peter's	...	...	Leopold.
St. John's	...	...	Charlotte.

St. Charles's	...	...	Regent.
St. Paul's	...	...	Wilberforce.
St. Patrick's	...	...	Kissy.
Arthur's	...	...	Wellington.
St. Edward's	...	...	Kent.
St. Thomas's	...	...	Hastings.
St. Henry's	...	...	York.
St. Michael's	...	...	Waterloo.

In villages where there were no clergymen, the manager or superintendent performed the office of clergyman for his people, and on the Governor's tour through the villages in the Colony it was customary for him at stations where there were no clergymen to perform the marriage service and baptise the children, according to the rites of the Church of England. It rendered the people more comfortable and happy.

As Ordinary, the Governor granted marriage licenses.

It will be seen from the foregoing that Sir Charles MacCarthy was, as a matter of fact doing the work of a Bishop for the Church Missionary Society in addition to his duties as Governor of the Colony.

During the absence of Sir Charles MacCarthy at the Gold Coast the government of Sierra Leone was administered by the Legislative Council, consisting of Hon. D. M. Hamilton, H.M. Commissioner of Arbitration to the Commission for the Prevention of Illegal Traffic in Slaves ; Hon. Kenneth Macaulay, merchant, and Hon. Joseph Reffell, Colonial Secretary.

When the intelligence of the Governor's death reached Sierra Leone, Mr. Macaulay's mercantile engagements, and Mr. Reffell's ill-health, precluded either of these gentlemen from assuming the government. Accordingly, on 17th April, 1824, Mr. Hamilton took the oaths of office as Acting-Governor, and administered until Governor Turner's arrival in the Colony, a period of ten months.

At the time of Acting-Governor Hamilton's assumption of the government, he was the oldest European resident in the Colony, having been in the service of the Sierra Leone Company since 1802, and filled the offices of Mayor of Freetown, Chief Justice, and King's Advocate.

In August, 1824, Bance, Tasso, Tombo, and other islands, and the territory extending one mile inland on

the northern bank of the Sierra Leone River, were ceded by treaty with Bey Mauro, King of the North Bulloms. This addition of territory was desirable in the interests of the timber trade, commenced in 1816 by Mr. John MacCormack, a successful merchant, and which led to the establishment of factories on the river. Large quantities of teak and mahogany were exported to Europe for the Royal Dockyards and private merchants. As far back as 1810, Governors Dawes and Columbine had recommended the acquisition of Bance Island, which was at that time the key to the interior, though abandoned as a trading station by the proprietors.

During Mr. Hamilton's government there arrived on the West Coast of Africa a very remarkable woman, and probably one of, if not the first, to attempt to put the unwritten language of Africa into print. Under the auspices of the Society of Friends, Mrs. Hannah Kilham had, in 1820, printed "First Lessons in Jalof." Arriving at Gambia in December, 1823, and Sierra Leone in February, 1824, she was courteously received by the Government and taught in the schools in the Jalof language.

In 1827 she paid her second visit to Sierra Leone and collected outlines of the principal African languages spoken, and in little more than two months put into writing the numerals and leading words of some twenty to thirty native languages. Her ill-health compelled her to return to England in 1828, when she published these results under the title of "Specimens of African Languages spoken in the Colony of Sierra Leone."

In 1830 Mrs. Kilham returned for the third time to Sierra Leone, having obtained permission from the Government to take charge of all the children rescued from slavery. With the aid of a native she founded a large school at the village of Charlotte, and resided there with her pupils. In 1832 she visited Liberia, but on the return voyage the vessel in which she sailed was struck by lightning, and had to put back to Liberia. Mrs. Kilham never recovered from the shock and died three days later at sea, on 31st March, 1832.

Her efforts to conquer the native language showed her to have been a woman of great diligence, intelligence, and skill, and it was hoped that her labours would prove the basis of further efforts in the same direction.

CHAPTER IX.

PERIOD 1825-1828.

General Turner assumes the Government—Condition of the Colony—Governor Turner at the Gold Coast and Gambia—The Liberated Africans—Cession of Territory, Sherbro and Porto Lokkoh—Embassy from Futah Djallon—New Settlement at Fernando Po—Expedition to Sherbro—Governor Turner's death—Mr. K. Macaulay assumes the Government—Cession of Territory, Sombuya and Matacong—Mr. S. Smart assumes the Government—General Campbell assumes the Government—Gold Coast Forts transferred to Company of Merchants—Governor Campbell at Porto Lokkoh—Colonel Denham, General Superintendent—The Liberated Africans—Villages formed into Districts—Cession of Territory, Porto Lokkoh, Kaffa Bullom, and Bulama—Colonel Lumley assumes the Government—Opening of St. George's Church and Fourah Bay College—Caille's journey to Timbuctoo—Commissioners Rowan and Wellington, their report—Maladministration—Chief Justice Thorpe's Pamphlet—Mr. McQueen's Charges—Mr. K. Macaulay's Pamphlet.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES TURNER, C.B.,* arrived in Sierra Leone on 5th February, 1825, and assumed the Government.

He appears to have immediately made a complete inspection of the Colony, and the result of his labour gives us a very unsatisfactory picture of the state of affairs then existing. In his report of 26th February, 1825, he states:—"Every Civil Officer in the Colony, myself included, and every military one but three, are in houses hired of merchants at rents doubly higher than the most expensive part of London; there is not even a room for the Collector to receive his duties in, or for the Chief Justice to administer the laws in.

"The £10,000 voted annually in aid of public build-

* General Turner entered the army as ensign 1795, became Captain in the Royal African Corps 1803, Major in the Royal West India Rangers 1804, and Lieut.-Colonel of that regiment 1807. In 1812 he lost an arm at the siege of Badajos, and retired on half pay 1818. He attained the rank of Colonel 1814 and Major-General 1821. The Order of the Bath, Commander of the Portuguese Order of the Tower, and of the Turkish Order of the Crescent were conferred upon him.

ings appears to have been laid out chiefly upon an attempt to build a large church and large market house,—these are the only public buildings which I see in the Colony; the latter has already fallen down once, and is now unfinished and without a roof; the church is roofed, but no more, and the materials of which it is built is giving way already in various places.”

In describing his visit to the villages, he says that

“Those placed in the mountains have the greatest local disadvantages to contend with, and it is to be regretted that their first efforts at labour should be made amongst barren rocks and ungrateful soil. Still they are struggling for subsistence, and I make no doubt when the Government allowance is withdrawn, and they are thrown on their own resources, that they will become industrious. There is no danger of anyone starving in this country, as twopence pays for their daily food (rice and palm oil).

“ . . . Unfortunately, the value of industry or labour has never been inculcated here. The people employed on Government works have got four dollars per month without any reference to what they did. This has caused great idleness and indifference about work.

“ . . . But at present our people will not work, although I dismissed all the Kroomen from the public works, and issued a proclamation threatening to withdraw rations from all those who refused to work. The consequence of this idleness is felt throughout the Colony. Too much indulgence has quite ruined them: they take the Government pay and allowances without gratitude, and their own energies are paralysed by it. They grow or rear but very little, money has lost its value, as proved by the prices of the necessaries of life—milk 2s. 6d. a quart, eggs 2s. 6d. per dozen, a small chicken 3s.

“ . . . Unfortunately for me, there have been vast sums of money squandered upon this Colony without leaving any of those practical or permanent advantages which might have been expected, and the patience of Parliament is exhausted. Yet there is not one work of public utility existing, there has not been a house built for an office or an officer of the Colony. Everyone lives in hired lodgings, myself as well as others, miserable places, which from their defectiveness mainly contribute to the deaths in the Colony. Yet there is upwards of £2,000 a year out of the funds of the Colony paid for these lodgings, whilst your lordship probably imagines that out of the £10,000 a year voted by Parliament in aid of public buildings, houses have been furnished for us, but very different is the fact.

“ . . . I am forced to say that the money sent to this place has been squandered upon wild and impracticable objects,

upon ignorant and useless establishments, upon idle and inefficient officers and corrupt servants. Most of them I found necessary to supersede and place the work under the charge of military officers and non-commissioned officers, who have at least energy and honesty."

A month after Governor Turner's arrival in Sierra Leone he proceeded to the Gold Coast, in consequence of the disturbed state of affairs there, taking with him the available troops in garrison and the Royal African Corps, consisting of white troops who had been sent out from England. Finding, upon arrival at Cape Coast, that there was no hostile body of Ashantis in the British Protectorate, the troops returned to Sierra Leone in April. The European soldiers were crowded into sheds at the base of Tower Hill, barracks scarcely affording protection from the weather, and the sickness and mortality amongst them was very great.

On leaving the Gold Coast the Governor proceeded to visit the Gambia, and, as showing how inconvenient it was for him to be responsible for that Settlement as well as the Gold Coast, it may be desirable to give his own report to the Secretary of State on the subject at this juncture :—

"I fear that it will be a long time before I get back to Sierra Leone, the winds and currents make it necessary to go near a thousand miles from it than we are now before we get into a trade wind to carry us back. Indeed, the difficulties of communication between the two places are so great, that it would be easier for the General Officer at Cork to take charge of Barbadoes than for me to take charge of the Gold Coast."

After his return from inspection of the Settlements at the Gold Coast and Gambia he took in hand the much-needed work of lessening the expenses of Government at Sierra Leone, and commenced the ungracious task of retrenchment.

In the villages established for the purpose of instructing and keeping together the liberated Africans, there were upwards of four thousand of these people supported in idleness by the Government ; and amongst the superintending staff of the twelve villages, consisting of four clergymen, five schoolmasters, and four superintendents, there was not one who had any knowledge of agriculture. Thus their position had been

for some time past nothing short of a heavy burden on the Colony. But Governor Turner, by giving employment to as many as possible on public works, and by placing out others under registration as servants and labourers with private individuals, succeeded in reducing the cost of the liberated Africans to England by some £17,000 per annum,* and, what was still more important, rendered the half of the settlers self-supporting. Further than this, an Ordinance was passed on 29th July, 1825, for the better regulation of the labour market, and defining periods of engagement and penalties for neglect to work. This Act became absolutely necessary on account of the increasing captures of slaves who were brought to the Colony, and to whom it was impossible for the Government to give anything more than very temporary assistance.

With the view of bringing to an end a destructive war which had been carried on for several years between certain tribes of the Kusso nation and the inhabitants of countries bordering on the Sherbro Bulloms, General Turner, on 24th Sept., 1825, at the Plaintain Isles, entered into a treaty† with the kings, chiefs, and headmen of the Sherbro country, by which the territory between the southern bank of the Camaranca river, on the north, and the town of Camala, on the south, about 120 miles in length, and upwards of 5,000 square miles of most fertile land, were ceded to Great Britain, the Governor granting to the native inhabitants of the said territory the rights and privileges of British subjects, and guaranteeing to them for ever the full, free, and undisturbed possession and enjoyment of the lands they then held and occupied.

This territory is watered by seven rivers of considerable importance, and the produce of these rivers has always been very great, and, with the country at peace, and property safe, will become still greater. The principal articles of export at this time were ivory, palm oil, camwood, and rice, the Bagru river furnishing about 600 tons of this latter in a season.

By this treaty what is known as Turner's Peninsula, a notorious slave-trading district, was brought under

* *Vide* Parliamentary Report No. 57, February, 1830.

† This treaty was not ratified by the Crown. It was, however, revived by a fresh agreement made in 1882.

the influence of the Government of Sierra Leone, and General Turner's object in acquiring the territory in question was undoubtedly the suppression of the slave trade. This, however, was not effected at once. It may be fairly calculated that some 15,000 to 20,000 slaves were exported annually from this district, whilst the sanguinary wars between the tribes of the district waged to obtain them had nearly depopulated the rich and fertile countries of the Sherbro.

He also endeavoured to extend the influence of Great Britain over the country to the north of Sierra Leone by entering into a treaty, on 12th December, 1825, with the Bacca Lökkoh people, and as this was a matter of future importance to the Colony, it will be well to deal with it at some length.

Bacca Lökkoh, or Porto Lökkoh, the port from which many Lökkoh people were shipped to be sold at Bance Island as slaves, is situated about forty miles from Freetown, up the Sierra Leone or Roquelle River. At the entrance to this branch of the river are two large rocks called the "Devil Rocks," which are never covered by the highest tide, and concerning these the natives have a superstition that they travel. In past times sacrifices were offered to them.

The Timinis, the owners of the country, resided on the north bank of the river, and call their town "Old Porto Lökkoh." About the year 1700 permission was granted to the Susu people, who were engaged in the slave trade, to settle on the south bank of the river, which they named "Sain Dugu." In process of time the Timinis built another town, called Ro Marung, and the Susus built Ro Batt. The Susus, Mohammedans from Mellacouri, in the Morea country, and more intelligent than the Timinis, who were then pagans, usurped the chief authority in the district, whilst the Timinis, who were at that time unable to resist, gave them wives, and placed many of the children of the principal men at schools under them to learn the Koran. Thus many Timini children were carefully brought up according to the Mohammedan creed, and acquired wealth and power in the country.

The Susus at Sain Dugu were of the Sankong family, with a chief called the Almami.

This state of affairs continued until about the year

1815, on the assumption of the government by Brimah Konkori Sankong, an arbitrary ruler over the Timinis, who, thinking themselves oppressed, took up arms in 1816, under Moruba Kindo, son of one of the principal kings of the country. Before taking active measures Moruba Kindo visited the Susus country to gather information concerning them. Whilst at Malaghea he heard the title of Alikarlie made use of, and learning that it meant a magistrate or judge, he told the chief of that town he would like to have the title introduced into his country. His wish was granted, and upon paying merchandise to the value of seven slaves (about £20), a turban worn by persons of that title was placed on his head. This was his coronation.

As soon as it was over he returned to his country, and summoning all the principal men of the Timini country to a private meeting, he made them bind themselves individually by oath not to reveal what they should hear. After they had been sworn he proposed that they should take up arms and expel the Susus from the country. This was agreed to, and he was acknowledged as Alikarlie, and an influential Timini chief, of Mandingo descent, called Fatma Brimah Camarra, was nominated to be his second in authority for carrying out their plans.

Bey Foki, the king of the country, having been offended by the behaviour of the Susus, placed the country under the Alikarlie's management in these words:—"My son, you are my son, the country is yours as it is mine. I and your people can no longer bear the insult of these strangers. I place the country in your hands that, with my assistance, and that of the whole country, you drive the Susus out of this land." The Alikarlie then said, "Thank you, father, that is all I want. I shall call to my assistance a dear and true-hearted friend, one that will be able to take my place if I fall in the struggle, and carry out your wish." The Alikarlie then had a drum, called Tablay, made, which was to be in possession of no one but the king or chief in authority.

The plan for attacking the Susus having been made known to all the Timinis, the Alikarlie one morning ordered this drum to be beaten, which was the first time the Susus heard it.

The Almami of the Susus at Sain Dugu, on hearing where the sound came from, sent to see if his tablay was in its place, and being told that it was, he ordered one hundred and fifty armed men to proceed to Ro Marung and bring the tablay, the person who was beating it, and the person who ordered it to be beaten. The distance from Ro Marung to Sain Dugu is about ten minutes' walk.

The men proceeded, unaware that more than five hundred Timinis were in ambush in a thicket which divided Ro Marung from Sain Dugu and Ro Batt. They did not, however, interrupt them till they had gone past, when they were all captured, their arms seized without a gun being fired, and they themselves taken as prisoners to the Alikarlie. Some of the principal men were killed, and five sent back to inform their chief of the intention of the Timinis. War was at once proclaimed, the Timinis from all quarters poured into the town, and engagements succeeded one another day after day. The Susus fought desperately, but were defeated, and the Timinis having besieged their stockade until they had exhausted their supplies of water and provisions, they surrendered, when Sain Dugu was entered, and the Almami, Brimah Konkori, and his chiefs beheaded, and others sold into slavery. None of the Timini women who were wives to the Susus, nor their children, were killed, but were allowed to return to their own families, and their adult children given the privilege of citizens. Amongst those who were spared were—Lamina Lahai, Misfarray, Booboo Sankong, Adamah Lahai, Momoh Sankong, and several others, who afterwards became leading men and Mohammedans.

Ten years after the war the first Alikarlie, Moruba Kindo, being conscious that he would not live long, sent for Fatma Brimah and gave him his gold ring, charging him at the same time in these words, "You and I have agreed to fight for the rights of our country, and to secure it from the hands of those who would dispossess us of it, and, God being our helper, we have succeeded in doing so. I am dying now; I leave the sword of defence in your hands and the title of Alikarlie which I introduced into this country, which is to be handed to our children successively." He died a day afterwards.

Before the report of the Alikarlie's death reached Freetown, a man named Jack Cobby, *alias* Pa Runiah, was illegally elected as Alikarlie, contrary to the wishes of the people, and application was made to the Governor to interfere, so that the right person might be crowned. Governor Turner accordingly proceeded to Porto Lokkoh in the Colonial steamer "African," accompanied by the Honorables Kenneth Macaulay, W. Ross, and John MacCormack, Esquires, Members of Council, Almami Dallu Mahommadoo, and a detachment of the Royal African Corps.

On arriving at Porto Lokkoh, at the request of the principal persons there, the Governor demanded that the crown in possession of Jack Cobby should be given up, which was refused at first, but on the Governor's persisting, was brought in a calabash and delivered to Dallu Mahommadoo, to be handed to the Governor, who placed it on the head of Fatma Brimah, as successor of the deceased Alikarlie.

At this time, owing to the extended intercourse and trade existing between the Bacco Lokkoh territories and the surrounding countries, and for the prevention of cabals and intrigues, it was necessary that the person administering the government of the same should be armed with more power and authority than the Barra and Sangcong families were capable of affording. Accordingly General Turner entered into a treaty, on 12th December, 1825, with the chiefs, by which he accepted the sovereignty of the territories of Bacca Lokkoh offered to His Britannic Majesty, the Governor guaranteeing to the native inhabitants the continued and unmolested enjoyment of all lands and other property which they at that time possessed.

Not only was peace secured by this means and an extensive territory added to the possessions of the Crown, but the great road to the interior was secured, kept open, and undisturbed, thus tending to promote commerce with the Colony.

There can be no question but that the various missions to the Interior, and the wish to open up communications with the native kings and chiefs in the hinterland, led to a desire on their part to bring their people into contact with the Sierra Leone Government. The encouragement to peaceful commerce which they found

in the British Settlement brought people from all the surrounding tribes to Sierra Leone, whilst those who had hitherto gone to the markets of Senegal and Gambia agreed that that of Sierra Leone was the easiest of access if the trade paths could be kept open.

An embassy arrived in Freetown in September, 1825, from the King of Futa Djallon, and with it Bokari, the Chief of Tamba, near Senegal. The nephew of the king dwelt upon the advantages of their intercourse with the Colony to the Foulahs, and expressed their desire for the continuance of our friendship, and the determination of the king to keep open communication with Sierra Leone. As a proof of his good faith in the matter he informed the Governor that he was so determined to carry out his resolution that during the late war, whilst natives were prohibited from leaving their country, the safe passage of the travelling merchant from place to place was secured.

What wonder is it, then, that in reference to the Commission of Inquiry, reported in 1827, the *Sierra Leone Gazette* should say that, taking into account the natural capabilities and advantages of the place into which they courted every inquiry, and given the stimulus of capital, the Colony of Sierra Leone might be made one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown, as well as one of the most rich and flourishing possessions of the Crown?

But the truth with regard to Sierra Leone was that the settlers in Sierra Leone had been spoilt by too lavish expenditure from outside, resulting in their own powers of self-support remaining undeveloped. To the work of changing this system Governor Turner devoted himself with considerable success. There is little doubt, however, that in the Government of the day there was a strong feeling that, although large sums had been spent on the place, the settlement should be given up. Notwithstanding the annual expenditure* had been reduced to £40,000 per annum, £17,000 being for liberated Africans, such great disadvantages had been experienced at Sierra Leone that in 1827 a new settlement was founded at Fernando Po, an island in the Gulf of Benin, and, doubtless, had it not been

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper No. 57, of February, 1830.

for the idea that the abandonment of Sierra Leone would have led to an increase in the slave trade, and frustrate all hopes of spreading the knowledge of civilisation in Africa, Sierra Leone would have been abandoned about this time. It was proposed, in fact, to move the Mixed Commission Court to that island, and steps were taken to carry out this proposition, but the difficulties placed in the way by Spain led to the British establishment which had been formed there being withdrawn and the scheme abandoned in 1834.

The whole question of maladministration in the Colony will, however, be dealt with later on, and for the present we must leave the subject where it is.

The results of Governor Turner's acquisition of territory in the Sherbro district in 1825 were not satisfactory so far as the suppression of the slave trade was concerned.

It became necessary early in 1826 to take active measures against the notorious slave traders in the Sherbro. Accordingly, in February, General Turner undertook the conduct of an expedition thereto, consisting of troops, vessels, boats, and canoes, with a sailing master for only two of the vessels, and only one military officer besides himself. The vessels were continually grounding, and the Governor had to perform the duties of master and spend much of his time sounding the river. On the morning of 17th February he took the stockade of Bulm, and after a busy and fatiguing day, exposed to the sun, he burnt it late at night. On the 19th he fought the action at Macaba, where he was exposed, afloat and on shore, for hours to a burning sun. On the 21st he fought another trifling action at night, and on the 23rd returned to Shebar. On the 25th another laborious day was spent with the vessel aground for several hours, and it was only on the 27th that the vessels after much anxiety cleared the river. At this time he was complaining of illness, but could not be prevailed upon to take rest or medicine. When he arrived at Freetown, instead of taking rest, he caused a vessel to be detained till his despatches were written, and five days later, on 7th March, 1826, he died at Government House, a victim to his arduous and unremitting exertions to rid the Colony and its adjacent territory of the curse of

slavery, and his zeal to fulfil the trust reposed in him by his king and country, without regard to his personal health and safety. Governor Turner's staff was insufficient, and his duties were overwhelming. Only six weeks before death overtook him, he writes:—"For the last six months there has been in the Colonial Secretary's Office but one efficient, and for two months he was laid up with severe illness, leaving no one to do duty. My Private Secretary was ill most of the time, and died a month ago. I was besides without Chief Justice, King's Advocate, Colonial Secretary, Engineer, or Surveyor.

I have had for a long time but one Captain and three Subalterns to do duty with near six hundred men of the most desperate characters. The guard-house is filled every day with rioters and nightly depredators."

Acting-Governor Kenneth Macaulay, who succeeded him, summarizing the character and administrative abilities of the late General Turner, says, and it is difficult to add anything to the very just estimate he has given us:—

"His views were wise, liberal and comprehensive, his firmness and unwearied personal exertions to carry them into effect were unremitting. If there was any man well qualified to bring the latent energies of Sierra Leone into action—to give the negro population a fair and ample opportunity for exertion—to raise the Colony to a distinguished eminence—to throw over the surrounding tribes the paternal shield of Great Britain, and to substitute her manners and her institutions for the barbarous customs which prevail among them: to render them for hundreds of miles round Sierra Leone a labouring and agricultural instead of a slave-making and a slave-supplying population, and to open the way for improvement and civilization into the vast interior of Africa—it was General Turner: and I am only speaking the sentiments of every man acquainted with him and with Africa, when I say that his death was a national loss—an almost irreparable blow to the Colony and to Africa generally."

Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, as senior member of the Council, administered the government until the arrival from England of the King's Advocate.

By a treaty dated 30th December, 1825, Almami Amura, the Chief of the Mandingo nation, leased the Island of Matacong to Messrs. Gabbidon and Savage,

merchants of Sierra Leone, they paying yearly one hundred bars of goods, and on condition that they should not erect any fort or fortification or maintain armed men on the island further than what was consistent with the protection of their property, or the mounting of such cannon without embrasures or breastwork as might be required for saluting purposes, according to the custom of the white people; and should it so happen that the Almami or his successors should think fit at any time, not exceeding once in every year, to visit the island during its occupancy, it was to be understood that a salute of not less than thirteen great guns should be fired upon his or their landing or departure, if requested, at the sole expense of the merchants.

On 18th April, 1826, the Acting-Governor entered into a treaty with the Sombuya Susus to put an end to a local war with the Mandingos, which had been carried on for twelve years, and to render the treaty more effectual, by Clause 5, the full sovereignty of the territories from Conta, in the south, to Ferighna, in the north, including one mile inland from the seaboard, was ceded to Great Britain, and by Clause 6 of the same treaty the Island of Matacong* was ceded in like manner. When this treaty was reported to the Secretary of State, Earl Bathurst, in his despatch, dated 1st November, 1826, stated in reply:—

“That as Mr. Macaulay had, in deviation from his lordship's instructions, stipulated for cessions which his Majesty had already signified his determination not to accept, he had only to acquaint him that Articles V. and VI. must be expunged from the Convention, and that when the Treaty should have been renewed with the omission of these Articles, he should be happy to lay it before his Majesty.”

The treaty, with the omissions directed by Earl Bathurst, was not renewed, and in 1865 there was further correspondence on this matter.†

Mr. Samuel Smart, King's Advocate, assumed the government on his return to the Colony, 11th July,

* By the Convention of 1889, this territory is now within the sphere of French influence.

† *Vide* Chap. XII., and Parliamentary Papers, c. 1409 of 1876.

1826, and held office until Sir Neil Campbell's arrival in the following month.

Major-General Sir Neil Campbell, C.B.,* was appointed to succeed General Turner as Governor-in-Chief, and news having been received in England that another Ashanti army was advancing to the coast, he was instructed to proceed to the Gold Coast at once. He arrived at Cape Coast Castle in August 1826, a fortnight after the defeat of the Ashantis at Dodowah, near Accra, and in November sailed for Sierra Leone.

The victory of the allied force at Dodowah ended the war, and peace was concluded by a treaty between the English, the Fantis, and the Ashantis.

In 1827 the greatness of the expense occasioned by the late war and the disasters attending the proceedings of Sir Charles MacCarthy, induced the Home Government to withdraw all the public establishments from the Gold Coast, and to give up the government of them to a Committee of Merchants connected with the African trade.

Uniting the Gold Coast and Gambia with Sierra Leone under one Governor-in-Chief was a great hindrance to the growing prosperity of the Colony, as the time given by the Governor-in-Chief to the wants of the Dependencies caused the affairs of Sierra Leone to be neglected. This has been clearly shown by the frequent absence of Governors, and we have already quoted Governor Turner's strong opinion on the subject.

In December, 1826, we find Governor Campbell at Porto Lokkoh delivering to Fatma Brimah, the Chief of the eight towns of Bacca Lokkoh, the Convention of 1825, signed at Porto Lokkoh by the late Governor Turner, and arranging for the installation of Fatma Brimah as Alikarlie of that country. He was to carry

* Sir Neil Campbell, born 1776, entered the army as ensign 1797, and became Major-General 1825. He served with the expeditions at the capture of Martinique and Guadaloupe. He also saw service with the Portuguese army in the Peninsula, and the Russian army in Poland. He was severely wounded in a cavalry charge March, 1814, and was appointed to accompany Napoleon to the island of Elba. He subsequently served with the Duke of Wellington's army until their entry into Paris. In October, 1814, the King conferred the honour of knighthood upon him for distinguished services.

out all arrangements prescribed to him by the Governor for the improvement of commerce and civilisation, and immediately to allot ground for a school and for the erection of a residence for the Governor of Sierra Leone.

Notwithstanding the Convention referred to, British sovereignty was not asserted over the Porto Lokkoh district until 1893, when it was duly proclaimed by the Administrator, Major Crooks.

It was decided again to try and improve the condition of the liberated Africans by instructing them in agriculture, and so rendering them independent of all support from the Government. In November, 1826, Lieut.-Colonel Denham, who had already achieved fame as an African traveller, was appointed General Superintendent of the Liberated Africans to assist in this work. He arrived in Sierra Leone on 9th January, 1827.

Up to this cocoa, cassada, and some rice had been the sole productions of the Colony, and were all consumed locally, as stated in the Commissioner's Report published 1827. Colonel Denham at once proceeded to inspect all the villages, and inquire closely into the condition of the settlers and what they produced. In the course of his inspection he was able to make many suggestions both for the comfort and welfare of the inhabitants. He pointed out localities favourable for the growth of rice, which was consumed in enormous quantities, but which was supplied mainly from Sherbro, Porto Lokkoh, Rio Pongos, and the Mandingo country. He also suggested an extension of the growth of sugar cane, coffee, ginger, and indigo, all of which he found being grown in small quantities and of very fine quality.

Much progress seems to have been made in this direction under Colonel Denham's able guidance, and roads and bridges were made and built to aid the settlers in transporting their goods to Freetown, as well as increasing the land under cultivation.

Upon Governor Campbell's return to the Colony he adopted measures for regulating the expenditure of the Liberated African Department, in continuation of the work already commenced by Governor Turner. Finding that the whole system of issuing rations, which had

hitherto been followed was bad, he decided it should be put an end to, and instructions were given that, from the 1st of January, 1827, no rations were to be issued to liberated Africans either in Freetown or in the villages, but, instead thereof, the sum of threepence per day was to be paid weekly in advance, through the managers, to each person.

This arrangement was intended to save the trouble and expense of purchasing stores at Freetown and sending them to the villages, while at the same time it would circulate cash in the interior, with a ready purchase of the food on the spot, which would encourage the industrious settlers.

The period of being upon rations was greatly reduced; the men were to receive the money allowance for six months, unless in extraordinary cases approved of by the superintendent, after which they were to provide for themselves. Unmarried women were granted rations for three months, by which time they were expected to be married, and then supported by their husbands. If the unmarried men of the village to which the women were sent declined to marry, the women were to be transferred to another where the men were willing to take to themselves a wife. By this means the women were settled and struck off the Government list, after which they were to provide for themselves. In respect to the children, they were to be distributed among the old settlers with a view to their being actively employed until they attained the age of fifteen. They would then be released from the charge of their adopted parent, a lot of land would be given them, and the allowance would cease to be paid.

With reference to this method of settling the captured women we quote a curious and somewhat humorous incident reported by the Minister of Waterloo, in September, 1826, which gives some insight into the obstacles which native habits opposed to the improvement of the settlers there.

"Government has sent to Waterloo since the 24th of June 56 women, who were kept on rations; but no man made application to me to marry any one of them. On the 7th of the present month 30 more were sent to us with an order that they

should have rations granted to them for the space of three months only; by which time it was expected that they would be married and be supported by their husbands. I had on this occasion to acquaint the Chief Superintendent that I had no prospect of getting them married in so short a period, the number of single women then kept on rations at the station being 86. On this I received an order from the Hon. Joseph Reffell to send the 30 women just mentioned to Kent, where there are many men in single life who would ere long marry and maintain them. Mr. Johnstone, the present Superintendent of Kent, was directed at the same time to send his constables to Waterloo to fetch them. On announcing that the constables of Kent would come to fetch the single women to that station, where they would sooner be married than here at Waterloo, there arose in the place such a stir for espousals that in the course of two days I had no less than 55 couples on the list to publish the banns of marriage for them on the next Sunday, and on Monday and Tuesday mornings couple after couple came forward with applications for marriage, so that when the constables arrived from Kent there were but seven women left for them to carry away. By this means I got them all settled and struck off from rations, but I could clearly perceive that they had formed private connections, and would have been contented to live together in the country fashion without my knowledge, and let Government support the women." . . .

The Missionaries were relieved from the office of Civil Superintendents of the settlements undertaken by them at the request of Governor MacCarthy, and the persons to be placed in charge of the villages were to be named managers. It was notified also that there would be hotels in the villages of Wellington, Hastings, and Waterloo, in order to insure accommodation to newly-arrived blacks at fixed charges; and that the road from Freetown to Wellington was perfectly safe for carriages, and for horses from that to Hastings and to Waterloo.

The villages of the liberated Africans were formed into three divisions, with names descriptive of their locality, viz :—

The Eastern or River District, comprising Kissy, Wellington, Hastings, Waterloo, Calmont, and Allen's Town.

The Central or Mountain District, comprising Wilberforce, Leicester, Gloucester, Regent, Bathurst, Charlotte, and Grassfield.

The Western or Sea District, comprising York, Kent, and the Bananas.

British influence was further extended in 1827.

By a treaty* dated 8th March, 1827, with Bey Sherbro, King of the Kaffu Bulloms, the territories of the Kaffu Bullom's, bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the River Sierra Leone, on the east by the country of the North Bulloms, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, were ceded to Great Britain.

In June, 1827, treaties were also signed by Agai, King of Bulola, permitting the establishment of villages, forts, etc., in his territory; and with Benagre, King of the Biafras, by which the Island of Bulama† and the adjacent islets were ceded to Great Britain, and on this occasion the treaty of August, 1792, with Capt. Beaver, R.N., was acknowledged and confirmed.

An attempt had been made in that year to establish a British Settlement on the Island of Bulama, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, but owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, and the want of adequate provision of shelter on arrival, the project met the same fate as did the first settlers in Sierra Leone in 1787. Large numbers of these white people died and the rest returned to Europe. An attempt was made to land at Sierra Leone and join the Colony, but Governor Clarkson refused to allow this, though he gave them provisions and every assistance in his power for the voyage to England. He did not, however, consider them desirable colonists.

On August 14th, 1827, Governor Campbell died at Government House, Freetown, after a short illness, and before the completion of the first year of his residence in the Colony.

He proved himself a most zealous and active officer in the Colony, working unceasingly for its advancement and general good; in fact it may be said that he sacrificed his life to his duty by transacting public business, contrary to the express directions of the medical officers attending him, and when his strength was unequal to the strain of affairs.

* This treaty was not ratified by the Crown.

† In 1870 possession of the island was given up to Portugal.

Upon the death of Sir Neil Campbell, Colonel H. Lumley, Royal African Corps, Commanding the Troops, assumed the government, and six weeks later proceeded to the Gold Coast for the purpose of making arrangements for the evacuation of the forts. He returned in April, and held office until the arrival of Colonel Denham, in May, 1828.

Early in May, 1828, St. George's Church, Freetown, the foundation stone of which was laid eleven years before by Governor MacCarthy, was opened for Divine Service.

The Christian Institution at Regent for instructing African youths to become teachers not having proved a success, led the missionaries to look out for a more suitable building in Freetown for opening a college for higher education than that provided by the ordinary schools. At this time the late Governor Turner's estate on Fourah Bay, in the Sierra Leone river, which included all the buildings and nine acres of land, was for sale, and was accordingly purchased by the Church Missionary Society, and the college commenced its useful work with six pupils.

Fourah Bay College is now affiliated to the University of Durham, and its students, by keeping the necessary terms, and passing the required examinations, may attain all the degrees of that University.

During this period a remarkable journey through the interior of Africa had its beginning in Sierra Leone. René Caillé, a Frenchman, with a passion for travel, who had spent some years in Africa, learned the Arab language, and posed as a Mussulman, having failed to obtain from the French Government assistance towards making a journey to Timbuctoo, in 1824, made his way to Sierra Leone, and applied to the English for aid. A stranger and a foreigner, his request could not be complied with, but Governors Turner and Campbell gave him appointments, and he appears to have saved some £80, and, stimulated by the offer of a prize of 10,000 francs by the French Geographical Society, he resolved, in April 1827, to make the attempt on such slender means as he then had.

In spite of his many difficulties he reached Timbuctoo exactly a year after leaving Sierra Leone, in April, 1828, and, a month later, joining a caravan for the

north, he arrived at Tangier in August, 1828 ; the first European who had visited the great interior markets of Jenne and Timbuctoo. He received the prize and the Legion of Honour, and published a journal of his wanderings.

Towards the end of the year 1825 a Commission for inquiring into the state of the Colony was appointed, Major James Rowan and Mr. Wellington being the gentlemen nominated as Commissioners, doubtless on account of the adverse and hostile criticism of the state of affairs in the Colony, and of the powers and influence of the African Institution, which had practically, as the successor of the Sierra Leone Company, governed the Colony from the time it had been handed over to the Crown.

Their Report, published in 1827 as a Parliamentary Blue Book,* is the most valuable contribution to the early history of the Colony that we have, but its full value has been much diminished by the fact that the Appendices, giving details of the information published, have never been issued.

It is not proposed here to go into this document at great length, as much of the information contained in it has already been given in this volume in its proper place, that is, according to date. There are, however, points in it which should be chronicled here.

We learn that of the original settlers who arrived in 1787 only some six or eight persons were then in the Colony, and that from that year to 23rd February, 1826, 21,944 persons had arrived in the Colony, consisting mainly of Nova Scotians, Maroons, slaves from Barbadoes, negro soldiers disbanded from regiments and pensioners, and Africans liberated from slave ships captured off the West Coast of Africa and adjudicated upon by the Vice-Admiralty and Mixed Commission Courts. Of this number only 13,020 remained in the Colony in April, 1826. The difference between the numbers probably arises from the fact that numbers entered the military and naval services of the Crown ; some 3,000 emigrated to Gambia, and some returned to the West Indies, with the sanction of the Government, whilst others emigrated from the Colony and

* Blue Book 312, May 7th, 1827.

joined the native tribes surrounding it. Add to this the deaths and the fact that the birth-rate was in these days low, and the whole of this apparent decrease of 8,924 is not difficult to account for.

In the matter of agriculture, we find that cocoa and cassada were the main products, chiefly for local consumption, and because little or no trouble was required to cultivate them. It does not seem quite clear, however, that the Commissioner's statement that the demand for these articles was not sufficient to induce the cultivation of surplus produce* is correct, for in the Missionary Register, 1827,† it is stated that the villages in 1826 supplied the Colonial Government with cocoa and cassada to the value of £2,025, which would appear to be less than the amount received from this source in the previous year. Rice was also grown to a certain extent, but was kept for home consumption, probably owing to difficulty of transport to the market of Freetown.

Touching the condition of the people themselves, the Commissioners appear to have thought that they were as well looked after both by the Government and the Church Missionary Society in matters of housing, education, and religion, as could be expected, whilst every assistance was given in locating them and helping them towards independence and self-support. That all the arrangements were by no means perfect or satisfactory is no matter of surprise when it is remembered that the direction of public affairs was necessarily in the hands of Europeans, with whom sickness and death caused great havoc, led to constant changes, consequent delays in carrying out existing arrangements, and alterations of ideas in management.

The laws of England were in practice, but owing to the presence of strangers from the interior, and liberated slaves from many tribes along the coast, it was administered in a modified form, and according to the merits of the case. This arrangement, naturally, did not appear satisfactory to the Commissioners, but they admitted that it was unavoidable, and must be left to time to bring about a better method of dealing with cases.

* Page 31 Blue Book, 1827.

† Page 540.

Several additions to the Civil Staff were suggested, but it does not appear that there was any question but that the then existent staff was doing its duty straightforwardly by the Colony. An accountant and auditor were considered necessary to the satisfactory working of finances and control of customs, but to all who are interested in the outcry on the subject of the maladministration of the Colony this volume will prove of great interest.

Undoubtedly a spirit of hostility existed from the very first to the Colony of Sierra Leone. The very cause of its foundation led to this, as there is no doubt that a greater blow could not have been given to the infamous slave trade still carried on by some natives than the sight of a country occupied by freed slaves, developing and progressing, slowly it is true, and becoming firmly established as a law-abiding and self-supporting community.

In no way do we wish to be considered an apologist for the blunders which were committed in the earlier days of the Settlement. The first settlers were put down in a locality totally unprepared to receive them; and hence the community was led into the error that it was to be provided for entirely by others. Without homes, and until cultivation of land could take place and so render the settlers independent, this was necessary; but that supplies were issued long after the necessity ceased there is no doubt; and when General Turner took the matter firmly in hand we see at once the result in the fact that the cost of the maintenance of liberated Africans was reduced by £17,000 per annum.* It was also undoubtedly the fact that much money was wasted in the matter of supplies sent out from England, as, for instance, in the rainy season of 1791, when frame huts were expected, and badly wanted, a ship arrived with a cargo of *watering pots*† which the Government, anxious to promote agriculture, had despatched. At first also there were many misunderstandings with the Colonists as to their exact position in the matter of grants of land—which clearly could not have been allotted, and would not have been cultivated had they been. Power was divided impro-

* Blue Book No. 57, 1830, p. 7.

† Walker—*Church Missions in Sierra Leone*, p. 25.

perly at times, and at others the Sierra Leone Company had not power enough granted to it to control the Colony. But would not the same blunders be committed even to-day were new colonies being founded? We fear so. We should still send the watering-pots instead of articles more essential, and curtail the power of administrators instead of giving them a free hand to exercise common sense and judgment. Would money not be wasted to-day in many ways that later experience would show to be useless? We fear so. Would the right man be found at once for the right post in the new Colony? We doubt it.

But in spite of the desolation of the little Colony by foreign invasion ; in spite of fearful epidemics of sickness ; in spite of the frequent deaths and changes of the leading officials, and the fact that no systematic plan had ever been laid down for its government, each Governor introducing new ideas, and no two pursuing the same course ; and last, but not least, in spite of the indolent character of the settlers, suddenly freed from the restraints of servitude and placed in a position where others provided for his daily wants without effort on his own part, in spite of all these things it appears to us that the Colony showed all the progress that could well have been expected in its short life of forty years.

There is no doubt, however, that the Government itself took but little interest in Sierra Leone, and were content to take the reports of the various Companies who exploited the Settlement as correct ; and later, when it was transferred to the Crown, permitted too much power in its management to the African Institution, which was only a continuation of the Sierra Leone Company, and of which Mr. Zachary Macaulay was the secretary and real head. Both in Parliament and out of it complaints were frequent concerning the expenditure on the Colony, which was directed, if not controlled, by this Institution, and the supineness of the Government is well illustrated by the following passage from a letter of Mr. Macaulay to Governor Ludlam concerning the interests of the African Institution, where he says :—

“ I have no doubt that Government will be disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may propose to them with respect

to Africa, provided we will but save them the trouble of thinking. This you will see to be highly important."

And if money was wasted because the Government of the day allowed the African Institution to rule a Crown Colony instead of doing so, it must be borne in mind that that Company, having already expended large sums itself for the advancement of the Colony, would assuredly be prone to spend Government money more freely. For the waste, then, such as it was, one cannot but feel that the Government of the day was wholly responsible. They should never have allowed the policy of a Crown Colony to be dictated by a Chartered Company, nor its Governors to be required to carry out any views but those of the Colonial Secretary of State. This was done, undoubtedly, but the sweeping accusations made that the Missionary Reports on the advancement in education and religion was satisfactory were utterly false, that the Colony was not progressing, and that money was being squandered to little effect except to fill the pockets of outside persons who were pulling the wires of Government, hardly seems to us to be borne out by the reports of Major Rowan and Mr. Wellington.

Nothing we can trace leads us to alter the opinion we expressed in Chapter V. concerning the gentlemen who administered the affairs of the Colony on the spot in the early days of the Settlement, and of the Governors who followed them in the service of the Crown. We do not hesitate to say that no more honourable, earnest men undertook the management of affairs in any Colony, though they knew that when they accepted the trust imposed on them it led them, with what certainty this record shows, into the valley of the Shadow of Death itself.

Before going further with this history it is now desirable that the question of maladministration in the Colony, and to which reference has been made on more than one occasion, should be dealt with.

The full consideration of this question would almost require a book to itself, and whilst we cannot devote the space to it, we would commend an examination of all the documents to the student who wishes to know more of the matter.

At the formation of the Settlement there is no doubt that the earliest settlers were prematurely conveyed to Sierra Leone without previous arrangement having been made with the natives for the land on which to place them. Fortunately this difficulty seems to have been overcome to a great extent at once, and the new arrivals were enabled to form a location at least, and to obtain land to cultivate for their daily needs.

Under the Sierra Leone Company errors were undoubtedly committed in the matter of supplies sent out to the Nova Scotian settlers, and in granting allowances of stores and money for indefinite periods, and thus leading them into the erroneous belief that the support was to be continuous. As a result the settlers naturally did but little to help themselves beyond erecting huts for shelter, and growing a few vegetables necessary to existence.

The Government of the Colony was also unsatisfactory, as we see by Mr. Clarkson's report, in Chapter III., the power being divided amongst the members of the Council, resulting, as might have been expected, in confusion of the worst kind. This was, however, soon altered by placing the reins of management in the hands of one man. Internal troubles arose amongst the settlers themselves. Hostility on the part of the surrounding natives added to the difficulties, caused, no doubt, by the opposition to the traffic in slaves, and the attack of the French in 1794, as described by Mr. Macaulay in Chapter V., nearly completed the ruin of the new Settlement.

Yet the little band of men who were placed in authority by the Sierra Leone Company struggled on bravely in their effort to establish on a firm footing the colony of negroes rescued from slavery, and to give the nations the object lesson of a Settlement formed from such materials, surely, if slowly, tending towards contentment and prosperity. That they did so not only in the face of enormous local difficulties, deficiency of funds, and the neglect, if not direct opposition, of the Government of the day, should give the names of Clarkson, Dawes, Z. Macaulay, Day, and Ludlam a very prominent place in the history of Sierra Leone, and the gratitude of its negro inhabitants.

But in due course it became evident that no Char-

tered Company could continue such work, and that it was the duty of the Crown to take over the Settlement if it was to continue to live. Nothing we could say would make this plainer than the very clear summing up of the case by Mr. Ludlam in Chapter V. The Sierra Leone Company had done their best—they had failed. Accordingly, in 1808, Sierra Leone became a Crown Colony.

From this date more progress was made. The Colony was divided into wards and parishes; laws were passed for the government of the community; land was divided and secured to the owners by registration; taxation was introduced to help to meet the cost of maintenance; troops were provided for its protection; treaties were entered into with the natives of the surrounding tribes to benefit trade; and, in fact, all the machinery of a government by the Crown was slowly, but not without considerable difficulty, set in action to promote its advancement.

But whilst the Government took charge of the Colony, the African Institution, which was looked upon as a continuation of the Sierra Leone Company, operated from England for the improvement of the African race.

The Directors of the Institution were the great Abolitionists, M.P.'s, and others, who desired to continue their efforts on behalf of the Settlement which was founded by their philanthropy. To these gentlemen the Government of the day, most improperly, as we think, deputed too great authority, allowing them to instruct Governors as to what had been and what was to be done, and receive reports from them; and it was this condition of affairs that made it possible for one of them to write that the Government would be disposed to adopt any plan proposed, provided it would "save them the trouble of thinking."*

* Letter from Z. Macaulay to T. Ludlam, dated London, 4th November, 1807, and endorsed secret. Published with a letter to R.H.H. the Duke of Gloucester, President of the African Institution, from Zachary Macaulay, Esq., dated 9th April, 1815.

"A word in private respecting the African Institution. I cannot help regarding it as an important engine. We have many zealous friends in it, high in rank and influence, who, I am persuaded, are anxious to do what can be done both for the Colony and for Africa.

This state of affairs led to two serious attacks being made upon the Administration of the Settlement.

The first direct attack on the Colony came from Doctor Thorpe, its first Chief Justice, who, while on leave in England, in February, 1815, published a pamphlet entitled, *A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq., Vice-President of the African Association.*

His principal charges against the Sierra Leone Company were:—Monopoly of trade, allowing their servants to embark in the slave trade, breach of engagement to Nova Scotians, neglect of cultivation and civilisation, and absence of education and morality.

To the whole of these charges the Directors of the African Institution, in a Special Report made at the annual general meeting, on 12th April, 1815, gave a complete denial.

Mr. Perceval and Mr. Canning are with us decidedly. Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business immediately lies, is good-humoured and complying: but his secretary, Mr. Cooke, is, I fear, hostile to the whole thing, and may be disposed to seize any circumstance which will put in his power to do us mischief. You will see how very important it is to be aware of this in your communications with Government. Indeed, in all the *ostensible* letters you write, whether to Lord Castlereagh, the African Institution, or myself, it will be right to consider the *effect* of what you say on lukewarm friends and in the hands of secret enemies, for such will unavoidably mix with us. In such hands there are truths which will be made to produce all the effect of falsehood: and, instead of being used, as they ought to be, as a spur, will be employed as checks to all exertion. I cannot mean, of course, that you should in any degree varnish your representations. I merely mean that you should not *unnecessarily* discourage the exertions of benevolence. People who do not know you will suppose the case to be desperate where you seem to doubt: and your testimony, if convertible to an adverse purpose, would be formidable. Your own mind will suggest to you the guards, limitations, and exceptions with which what I now say should be received.

"I have no doubt that Government will be disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may propose to them with respect to Africa, provided we will but save them the trouble of thinking. This you will see to be highly important.

"I have one remark to make which you will see to apply to much of what I have written to you by this conveyance. I am writing, not for myself, but for others: and am, therefore, obliged to propose topics of consideration to you which, but for this circumstance, I myself might have deemed superfluous, and might have saved you the trouble of answering. But if I had time, I could give you several reasons why the same truths will do more good coming from you than from me."

There were both British and American traders at work in Sierra Leone.

Some servants of the Company, tempted by the large profits of the slave trade, *which was then legal*, did leave the Company, in spite of the bonds they had signed, and entered slave factories.

Although the Nova Scotians did not at first get the full grants of land promised them, they failed to till even the fifth part which had been allotted to them, and later on did not take up their lots when offered registration.

The Company imported many tropical plants to test their value in the Colony, but the garden was destroyed by the French. Doctor Afzelius, the eminent botanist, was also employed to suggest what plants would be useful, and no complaint was ever made of the want of implements. The real difficulty lay in the fact that the settlers were averse to labour of this kind, and considering that they were supported largely at the expense of the Sierra Leone Company, that was not to be wondered at.

With regard to the progress of Missionary teaching, the Missionaries probably over-estimated the effect of their work in reports sent to England, and Colonial Despatches usually contain some high colouring. But there is little doubt that in education and morality what could be done locally and in England appears to have been done, and when it is remembered that clergymen could not be induced to go out to Freetown, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, it seems unfair to charge the Company with neglect of this matter.

Errors were committed, without doubt, things were neglected, and probably overlooked, which ought to have been done, but such men as Thornton, Wilberforce, Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and Macaulay, and their associates, were incapable of neglecting the question of the education and religious instruction of their protégés, or of failing to do all they could for the comfort and welfare of the people who were the first-fruits of the great movement for the abolition of slavery, to which they devoted the whole of their energies and not a little of their money.

That the Sierra Leone Company had failed was

already admitted by Mr. Ludlam, whose Report is given in Chapter V. The Directors of the African Institution admit it also in their reply to Doctor Thorpe, but there can be no question that the failure arose from external rather than internal causes. It was the Company's want of power to check aggression on the part of the natives ; to defend themselves from attack by hostile forces ; and to insufficient capital ; and, lastly, to the fact that, both locally and elsewhere, the slave traders were, naturally, strongly opposed to their attempt to found a Colony for freed slaves, that destroyed its chances of success.

On 5th August, 1815, Doctor Thorpe, whose appointment as Chief Justice of Sierra Leone had in the meantime been revoked by the Secretary of State, published a second pamphlet, entitled, *A Reply 'Point by Point' to the Special Report of the Directors of the African Institution*, in which he maintains his previous statements.

Much more serious, however, were the charges brought by Mr. McQueen, of Glasgow, in a series of articles published in *Blackwood's Magazine* during the period from 1826-33.

Mr. McQueen had been manager of an estate in Grenada, and returning to settle in Glasgow, became a joint proprietor and editor of the *Glasgow Courier*. In this paper, as well as in his articles in *Blackwood*, Mr. McQueen proved himself a staunch upholder of the interests of the West Indian planters, and was consequently an opponent of the abolition of slavery ; and it may be mentioned incidentally that for his advocacy of the West Indian interests he was voted a sum of £3,000 for his services by the Jamaica Assembly, in 1825. It must, therefore, be understood that, being an advocate for the system pursued in the West Indies, he could not fail to endorse the hostility shown by the planters to Sierra Leone from the date of its foundation, and therefore was eager to argue the case against a settlement of freed negroes in Africa, which, if successful, would assuredly prevent the further exportation of negroes as slaves to supply the labour markets of the West Indies.

With much greater ability than Dr. Thorpe he pursued what he considered was the maladministration of

the Colony from its earliest days, and on somewhat similar, but considerably extended lines. He claimed that enormous sums had been expended, and were being expended, without benefit to the freed slaves or satisfactory results to England. That, in spite of the reports of Governors, missionaries, and others who had been in Freetown, the condition of the Settlement was deplorable in every way, and that it was not only a failure, but was really an object lesson proving the superior condition of the slaves on the West Indian plantations. In fact, that the place was totally unsuitable for a native settlement, a death-trap to the European who tried to govern it or trade within its borders, a hotbed of immorality and vice, and a stronghold of the slave trade, notwithstanding the efforts of the Sierra Leone Company. That during the forty years it had been occupied no advance whatever had been made towards the ends the philanthropists had in view, whilst they themselves were exploiting the place for their own enrichment rather than for the good of the negro.

To all these charges Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, who had himself been a member of Council as well as Administrator of the Colony, replied in a pamphlet, entitled, *Sierra Leone Vindicated*, and, if more is required, we think the perusal of the pages of this book will show that the charges were, to say the least, exaggerated. Certainly those who know Sierra Leone to-day will be inclined to believe that Mr. McQueen's judgments were somewhat hasty and have failed in realisation.

One item of extravagance—the erection of the Colonial Church at Freetown—appears to have excited particular attention, and, as General Turner mentions it, we might be allowed to refer here to it specially. It was stated by Mr. McQueen that £50,000 had been expended on this building, though we have seen no proof of it. Still it is said that it had fallen down more than once during the rainy seasons, and whilst in an unfinished condition, so it is not unlikely that a considerable amount of money was wasted on it. But in much later days did we not see the Wilberforce Memorial Hall at Freetown for years unroofed and falling to pieces under stress of weather

in similar circumstances? Was not money wasted on that?

It is true that large sums of money had been expended on the Colony both by the Sierra Leone Company and by the Government. That some of it was wasted could hardly fail to be the case under all the conditions in which the little Colony was placed, but that it was absolutely thrown away by Great Britain can hardly be substantiated when we remember that as early as 1817-24,* when the first reliable accounts of imports were kept, we find that the value of the imported goods for the eight years was £707,677, or over £88,000 per annum. As these goods came from England the return for the capital expended was at least beginning to arrive.

To assist the natives in improving their villages, making roads, and advancing their agriculture, Colonel Denham was specially sent out to the Colony, in 1827, and achieved considerable success in the time he was allowed to devote to this work. But he was sent to Fernando Po in the following year, when it was proposed to occupy that island, and died shortly after his return to Freetown. The work he had inaugurated was thus retarded in the same way that other efforts had been, and from the same cause.

A Commission was held to report on the state of the Colony in 1825, and nowhere in it can we find that the Commissioners—Rowan and Wellington—considered that the Colonists were in the fearful condition of darkness and misery that Mr. McQueen was denouncing at this very time and later. Whilst Dr. Madden, in 1842, could not condemn the Settlement altogether, though he did not consider it a success.

How could it be? Under the Sierra Leone Company the freed negroes were pampered and provided for without labour to themselves; then came the thousands of slaves from the captured vessels who had to be settled and set to work for themselves in some way; the former indolent and unsuited, excepting the Maroons, to found a Settlement with, the latter unacquainted for the most part with any kind of

* *Vide* Chap. VIII., and also Parliamentary Paper No. 520 of July, 1825.

civilisation whatever, and who consequently had to be instructed in everything which would tend to their making for themselves even a bare existence.

That the work was heavy, and the day too short for all that had to be done by the men who founded and carried on the work, only those who have themselves been in the Colony at a later date can appreciate ; but we think we can agree to dismiss the charges made as probably intended to advance the cause Mr. McQueen felt himself called upon to support, rather than to impugn the actions of the men who were endeavouring to work out their plans for the benefit of Africa and the negro race in opposition to him.

At the same time, however, that we have no wish to hide or condone real faults in administration, it is a clear duty to hold the scales of justice evenly. That the Colony could not escape adverse, and even exaggerated, criticism was inevitable, but, after mature consideration, we cannot but feel that it probably fared no better and no worse than it would do to-day were the attempt made with similar materials. It was not an ideal Colony in many ways then; it is not so perhaps even now, and the climate will always play its part in retarding progress somewhat ; but we feel assured that the men who ruled the affairs of these days did their best, and succeeded, too, as time went on, in spite of difficulties, in laying foundations upon which has been built the Colony of to-day, by their uprightness, energy, and zeal in the work entrusted to them.

CHAPTER X.

PERIOD 1828 TO 1837.

Colonel Denham assumes the Government—Colonel Lumley assumes the Government—Mr. Smart assumes the Government—Condition of slaves on arrival in Colony—Major Ricketts assumes the Government—Epidemic 1829—Mortality in Royal African Corps—Withdrawal of White Troops—The Sierra Leone Militia—Cut Money—Captain Evans assumes the Government—Captain Fraser assumes the Government—Colonel Findlay assumes the Government—Church Missionary Society—Parliamentary Committee, 1830—Treaties of Peace—Emigration to the Gambia—The Cobolo Expedition—Governor Findlay's evidence—Mr. Melville assumes the Government—Major Temple assumes the Government—Mr. Cole assumes the Government—Major Campbell assumes the Government—Condition of the Colony—Government House—Visit to Marampa Country—Treaties of Peace—Mr. Cole assumes the Government—Epidemic, 1837.

DURING Colonel Denham's* absence at Fernando Po, to which place he had been sent to inspect the new Settlement there, and arrange for the disposal of liberated Africans dealt with by the Courts, His Majesty's Warrant appointing him Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony (the appointment of Governor being abolished) arrived, and on his return to Sierra Leone, 5th May, 1828, he assumed the government. On 31st May he was attacked by fever, and on the morning of 9th June, 1828, he expired.

Had he lived, there is no doubt but that he would have continued the good work he had begun in the Liberated African Department, and that the condition of the village communities, and indeed of the whole Colony, would have been greatly improved.

Colonel Denham appears to have been a man, not

* Colonel Denham was educated for the law, but joined the army as a Volunteer in 1811, and served with a Portuguese regiment during the campaign in the Peninsula. In 1813 he was appointed to a Lieutenancy in the British army, and joining his regiment in the Netherlands shared in the honours of Waterloo, and accompanied the allied armies on their entry into Paris. He became Lieut.-Colonel on half-pay in 1826.

only of ability, but who was destined to impress his policy on others, for we find Major Ricketts speaking of him as follows:—

“ His exertions whilst he superintended the liberated Africans in their villages, and also his judicious plans and exertions for the short time he was Governor, were highly beneficial and useful, and would no doubt have produced in time the most desirable effects. He had whilst in discharge of his arduous duty adopted an excellent plan of locating the people along the roads by giving each individual a certain portion of land adjoining his own house, which plan I also followed, conceiving it to be the most advantageous that could be suggested, and the most probable means by which the Colony could be effectually improved.”

But Colonel Denham's name will be longest remembered as the “ African Traveller,” he having, in 1822, led an expedition for the Government from Africa's northern shores at Tripoli to the farthest possible point southward, with an eye to settling the position of the city of Timbuctoo, and the source of the Niger.

In the *United Service Journal*, for 1829, there is a sympathetic notice in reference to Colonel Denham's death, by that organ of the naval and military profession.

“ His appointment to Sierra Leone was, indeed, a post of honour, fearful honour? and its succeeding distinction, that of being immediately named Resident Governor of the Colony, was not less so, for, that it has been a command of the most imminent danger, proof after proof has most sadly manifested. It is in fact placing the gallant man who becomes chief of that station—who must be the eye and hand of all—as level to the first fire of the enemy, and when the charge is sprung which of the numerous and intrepid list has not fallen? If supposed knowledge of the climate, if easy conformity with the aborigines' modes of living (for to that Colonel Denham always turned attention and adapted himself), if perfect confidence from these circumstances that African atmosphere possessed no perils for him, so inured had he been to all its influences during his wide travels through its burning deserts and along its steaming shores: if a jocund happy heart, happy in spreading comfort around him, from his countrymen in the Colony to the rescued native black, and sanguinely putting forward his yet more promising plans ready to be brought into immediate activity: if this sense of amply doing the duty he was sent out to perform, animated the natural strength of his fine constitution,

could have kept the warm blood unvenomened in that benevolent heart ; could have preserved the bright health which one hour glowed on that manly cheek, and in the next was extinguished in livid paleness : if all this could have sufficed to compass with security the life of man in that Colony, Denham would not have died. Young as he was, he had completed his commission on earth : for his sun, though yet in its early noon, had gone down in a glorious path and a rich harvest of good works waved over it.

On the death of Governor Denham, Lieut.-Colonel H. Lumley, Royal African Corps, assumed the government, and held office barely two months. He died of fever at Sierra Leone, on 2nd August, 1828.

On the death of Governor Lumley, there being no Field Officer serving in the Colony, Mr. Samuel Smart, King's Advocate, assumed the government, and held office for three months, when he handed over to Major Ricketts.

In September, 1828, Mr. Smart, who was acting as General Superintendent of the Liberated African Department, represented to the Secretary of State the wretched state of slaves on arrival in the Colony, and the absolute necessity of providing proper accommodation for them pending adjudication by the courts, in order to prevent the Colony being visited with a serious epidemic of sickness. As, however, at this time, it appeared to be still the intention of the Government to remove the Mixed Commissions to Fernando Po, no steps were taken beyond keeping the buildings then in the hands of the Liberated African Department for cases of mild disease. Considerable efforts were, however, made at the time to clean up the town, and clear away the jungle and high trees to the north-west of the town, which intercepted the cool sea breeze, by the labour of the liberated Africans.

Mr. Smart's vivid picture of the fearful condition of the negroes landed from captured slavers is worthy of reproduction. In a despatch to the Secretary of State* he writes as follows :—

“ Within the last three weeks we have had three cargoes landed here amounting in number to between 600 and 700 persons.

* *Vide* Blue Book 17, 2, 1830.

"On the arrival of the slave vessels in this harbour, the surgeon to the mixed commissions proceeds on board and reports on the state of the slaves, and it is generally found absolutely necessary to order them to be landed owing to the crowded state of the vessels and the numerous cases of disease to which the slaves are subject. As a proof of this, I need only mention one instance in the case of the brig 'Clementina,' that lost out of 271 slaves 107 on her passage up to this place after seizure; to keep them on board in such cases would be inhuman, and when they are landed we are entirely without places to put them in. Vast numbers are afflicted with contagious disorders, such, for instance, as venereal, smallpox, measles, craw craw, yaws, together with various other diseases not perhaps equally dangerous in their nature as respects contagion, but equally distressing: such as dysentery, diarrhoea, ophthalmia, etc., and a variety of others that I am not acquainted with even by name.

"Out of the last vessels brought in, we were under the necessity of sending 160 of them to Kissy, a distance of three miles from the town; 140 to Wilberforce, an equal distance from Freetown, and in a contrary direction; the remaining number were kept in Freetown, amounting to 300, in the only place we could put them, and that not fit for the reception of half that number.

"The inhabitants of that part of the town where these 300 are stationed, although every possible attention to cleanliness has been observed, have actually been driven from their houses. They have forwarded memorials to me complaining most bitterly of the nuisance, and I am in dread that some day or other the Colony may be visited with some dire pestilence arising from causes that I am altogether incapable of describing. Something must be done for the reception of these people pending adjudication, either by the erection of some suitable building near the sea side, or, perhaps, what might be better, some hulk from one of the dockyards as a floating lazarette, capable of holding at least 1,000, to be moored at a safe distance from the town, which would insure the Colony against the evils to be apprehended unless so or otherwise disposed of out of town where they could all be landed together immediately on their arrival here, when that measure is so strongly recommended by the surgeon to the court, as lately happens to have been the case, and which in nine cases out of ten is considered advisable.

"We are at the present moment in daily expectation of other vessels being brought in, but I cannot imagine in what manner we are to dispose of them unless by sending them into the different liberated African villages, a measure that would be very irregular, until the condemnation of the vessel in which they are brought to the Colony."

Major H. J. Ricketts, Royal African Corps, assumed the government on arrival in the Colony, 11th November, 1828, from the Gold Coast.

He had the unique experience of witnessing, during a short period of service on the West Coast of Africa, the arrival and deaths of five Governors—MacCarthy, Turner, Campbell, Denham, and Lumley. The principal part of his service was on the Gold Coast, and he was present at the battle of Assamako, in which Sir Charles MacCarthy was killed, as Brigade Major.

The Secretary of State impressed upon the Lieut.-Governor that he would best fulfil the wishes of His Majesty's Government, with respect to the liberated Africans, by visiting them frequently and by insisting upon the strict execution of all the arrangements which Sir Neil Campbell and Colonel Denham had made for attaching the people to the soil, for inculcating habits of industry among them, and for making them rely as soon as possible upon their own exertions. And in a place where the Africans' primary articles of food, palm oil and rice, are so cheap as to have excited the remark, that a man may live at Sierra Leone for twopence a day. H.M. Government would not be longer justified in applying to Parliament for a continuation of those liberal grants, which, so long as they were considered to be necessary, and supposed to be beneficial, had never been withheld.

With respect to the civil establishment, it should gradually be reduced, and it was considered that the public business of the Colony might easily be transacted by a civil establishment, on the following scale :—

Lieutenant-Governor,
Chief Justice,
King's Advocate,
Secretary,
Two Writers,
Surgeon.

The Secretary of State also considered the coloured subjects of His Majesty as not being ineligible to the last four named situations, if persons of that class are to be found, who are qualified to fill them with advantage to the public service.

Major Ricketts worked energetically for the advance-

ment of the prosperity of the place. The liberated Africans seem to have had much of his attention, and a large number of them were apprenticed to the various merchants and traders, where their labour was successful, and profitable to themselves. Measures were taken also for placing lads as apprentices to the different trades practised on board His Majesty's ships of war.

During 1829 an epidemic of fever* again prevailed in the Colony, and swept away the principal inhabitants of the place and large numbers of the seamen belonging to vessels in the harbour. In the December quarter, of 48 cases admitted into the Garrison Hospital from H.M.S. "Plumper," 24 of those admitted died.

The terrible mortality, which thinned the ranks of the Royal African Corps, induced the Home Government to withdraw all the European soldiers from the West Coast of Africa in 1819, and to garrison the Settlements† with black troops; but with the threatened Ashanti invasion, in 1823, the Government reversed their policy in this matter, and white troops were again employed in these highly malarial settlements.

According to returns‡ furnished the House of Commons, the number of deaths among the European troops

* The symptoms of this disease are described as follows:—"Pains in the loins, calves, and forehead; in several diminished temperature; tongue covered with an ash-coloured fur, or preternaturally red; eyes watery and suffused, on the fourth or fifth day the skin assuming a dusky yellow tinge; great irritability of the stomach, and as the fever advanced, black vomit, like decomposed blood serum, and just before death delusive ideas of feeling better."—*Medical History of our West African Campaigns*, by Surgeon-Major A. A. Gore, M.D., 1876.

† In connection with the occupation of these Settlements by British troops, it may be noted that from 1758 to 1763, Senegal and Goree were garrisoned by the regular forces.

In 1765, a regiment was raised for service in West Africa styled, "A Corps of Foot serving in Africa." The regiment was afterwards known as "Wall's (African) Corps," the celebrated Governor Wall of Goree having been appointed Captain Commandant of the Corps in 1780. The Corps was disbanded 1783. Lieut.-Col. Wall, after twenty years exile, was tried at the Old Bailey in January, 1802, for the murder of a sergeant of the African Corps at Goree in July, 1782, by inflicting on him eight hundred lashes with such cruelty as to cause his death. The jury found the prisoner guilty, and he was hanged at Tyburn.

In 1800, the "Royal African Corps" was raised.

‡ *Vide* Blue Book 17, 2, 1830.

on the Western Coast of Africa for the year 1825 were 17 officers and 621 non-commissioned officers and men. With such destruction of life it was not too soon for the Government, in 1826, to take into consideration the casualties during the preceding year among the troops, and also the expediency of raising recruits for the service of the Royal African Corps, either from the natives or from the liberated Africans.

Measures were at length taken for reducing the establishment of the Royal African Corps to two companies, and for raising a militia for the preservation of the internal tranquillity of the Colony, and for its defence, if necessary.

In August, 1829, an Ordinance was passed authorising a militia force to be raised to consist of 17 officers and 325 non-commissioned officers and privates, and in 1830 the white troops were removed.

Between the years 1822-30, of 1,658 Europeans sent from England, 1,298 perished from climatic causes, 360 were invalided, 123 of whom died on the passage to England, 57 of the remainder being discharged as unfit for the service on arrival. Of 180 qualified for garrison duty, 53 were only found fit ultimately for the service.*

In his replies furnished to the Commissioners of Inquiry on the climate of Sierra Leone,† Mr. A. Stewart, Surgeon to the Forces, Freetown, 4th November, 1826, states :—

“The climate is obnoxious to all new comers on their first arrival. Few Europeans can reside in Africa even for a short time without passing through an attack of the endemic bilious remittent fever of the country, what is termed ‘seasoning,’ and usually happens within the first two years of their residence; no residence even in other tropical climates is a security against this fever, nor does a partial assimilation lessen the danger; soldiers who had served in the East and West Indies and at the Cape of Good Hope (what would be considered seasoned troops), and whose constitutions seemed good, I have seen fall as early victims to the fever as those just arrived from Europe.

“Bad as the climate is, and though it is too frequent that

* *Medical History of our West African Campaigns*, by Surgeon-Major A. A. Gore, M.D., 1876.

† *Vide Blue Book*, 17th February, 1830.

the local causes are not under one's control, still there are many of the exciting that are, and from a disregard of them disease and death is often brought on by the thoughtless Europeans, such as the heedless exposure to the sun, night dews, cold and wet, and intemperance. . . . Notwithstanding the generality of the men are of loose moral character, I think many of their irregularities proceed from the forlorn state* they are placed in, removed for ever from their country, families, and friends, and possibly their own earthly existence short. To dispel such distressing reflections they generally fly to the rum bottle for relief, as their usual expression is, 'A short life and merry one.'

Surgeon-Major A. A. Gore, M.D., states† that

"While it was undoubtedly true of the white troops as a class, that the large mortality among them was attributed to the fact of their being commuted—punishment men, and as such, reckless and dissipated, an interesting fact remains on record—that a detachment of recruits voluntarily enlisted at Chatham, and purposely separated by General Turner from their more depraved companions, by being quartered on the Isles de Los, three pretty volcanic islets, 60 miles north of Sierra Leone, suffered enormously, 62 dying out of 103 in a few months, principally from remittent fever. They had landed on the 25th February, 1825, two months before the setting in of the rains."

Respecting the officers, Dr. Gore states :—

"Between the years 1822-29, 46·63 per cent. on an average became inefficient among the officers annually from deaths and invaliding to England, very close upon half the number serving. The cause for this was not, however, purely climatic, as may be gleaned from the following description of the then daily life of Europeans in these colonies, noted by Dr. Nichol,

* In relation to the wretched situation of these men, we note that in 1805, when Mungo Park proceeded on his last mission to the interior of Africa, the main inducement held out to the soldiers of the garrison at Goree to volunteer to accompany him, was a discharge from the army on their return. In the course of a few days almost every soldier in the garrison had volunteered his services. An escort of one officer and thirty-five men Royal African Corps embarked. "They jumped," says Park, "into the boats in the highest spirits, and bade adieu to Goree with repeated huzzas. . . . They are the most *dashing* men I ever saw.' Alas! none of these brave men set eyes on their homes. All the party perished with the exception of one native guide.

† *Medical History of our West African Campaigns.*

at the time Deputy Inspector of Hospitals in West Africa. In a report made to the Army Medical Department, he wrote :— ' In all the countries which I have visited I never saw so much eating and drinking. Breakfast is taken at rising ; at 11 a.m. they sit down to a relish, consisting of soups, meats, and the highest seasoned dishes ; wine is drunk as at dinner, and afterwards saugaree, or brandy and water, which they too frequently continue sipping and drinking till late in the afternoon, sometimes to the dinner hour, 6 p.m.' "

Owing probably to the demand for small coins, a curious method was adopted for obtaining them. The dollar, which was the coin in circulation, was cut into halves and quarters for the purpose of making small change, and was universally accepted. There was no authority, however, so far as can be ascertained for this act, though it served its purpose for the moment.

Major Ricketts quitted the Colony, 18th December, 1829, owing to ill health.

Captain A. F. Evans, 1st West India Regiment, as Senior Military Officer, assumed the government upon Major Ricketts' departure, and held office until the arrival of Captain Fraser, his senior officer.

Captain A. M. Fraser, Royal African Corps, assumed the government on arrival in the Colony, 12th January, 1830, and held office until the arrival of Colonel Findlay from the Gambia.

Lieut.-Colonel A. Findlay,* Lieut.-Governor of the Gambia, arrived in Sierra Leone by H.M. ship ' Ariadne ' on the 25th April, 1830, and assumed the government of the Colony.

His period of government seems to have been a stormy one, and his troubles soon began, this time with the clergy of the Church Missionary Society, whom he considered were selected from a class whose influence did not appear to him to have sufficient

* Colonel Findlay received his first commission in the 2nd West India Regiment for his gallant conduct while serving as a sergeant in the 78th Regiment at the battle of Merseru, 27th July, 1814, and subsequently served in the Royal African Corps until the end of 1829 when he was placed upon half pay on the reduction of that corps, and appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Gambia. In 1836 was made a Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and in 1847 he received the appointment of Fort Major at Fort George, Inverness, which he held until his death in 1851.

weight in the moral improvement of the people under their spiritual care.

According to the evidence given by him, in 1842, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, it was owing to the misconduct of one of the missionaries that he removed the school-girls from Bathurst to Regent, and in the Lieut.-Governor's despatch, of June, 1831, to the Secretary of State, though he considered that the objects desired by the Church Missionary Society were good, and their desire to benefit their fellow-men very real and earnest, he says:—"For God's sake send out decent clergymen and schoolmasters, and then you may expect to hear of the Africans advancing in civilisation." These were the men required for the work, not the inferior class which had accepted the posts, and who simply did so, in his opinion, to enable them "to live like gentlemen."

In June, 1830, another Committee of the House of Commons sat to examine into the relative merits of Sierra Leone and Fernando Po as the centres for the Mixed Commission Court, and favour was extended to Fernando Po in preference to Sierra Leone. The Committee only sat fourteen days, however, a period totally inadequate to the discussion of such a question, and nothing resulted from its labours but an adverse opinion to Sierra Leone, which was not justified then, and to-day would certainly not be listened to for a moment.

From returns furnished to the Committee, however, it appears that in the twenty-one years, 1808-28, the total number of liberated Africans landed in Sierra Leone from slave ships was 25,981, giving an annual average of 1,237, and the number in the Colony on 31st December, 1829, was 21,205.

In September, 1831, with a view to extend the commerce of the Colony, three Commissioners, on behalf of Governor Findlay entered into a treaty of peace* at Marbala, in the Marampa country, with Bey Cobolo and other chiefs and headmen of the Timini country not to commence hostilities one against the other, and it was agreed that the town of Marbala, being a great

* Some of the provisions of this treaty were annulled in April, 1836.

mart of trade with Sierra Leone, that Pa Subar and the headmen should be considered under the special protection of the contracting parties and the Governor of Sierra Leone.

It was further agreed that all Foulah, Sangara, Kuranko, Mohammedan, and other strangers should have free and secure passage through their several countries towards the Colony of Sierra Leone, and that their property should be respected.

As early as 1827 Sir Neil Campbell had raised the question of sending some of the liberated Africans from Sierra Leone to the Gambia, and the Secretary of State had approved of the idea, and was prepared to sanction certain expenditure in the matter, but it was not immediately followed up. About the close of the year 1831 the Governor received instructions from the Secretary of State to remove to the Gambia as many liberated Africans as the Lieut.-Governor of that Settlement might judge practicable to locate on MacCarthy's Island. A Superintendent was to accompany the emigrants, and an adequate supply of clothing, medicines, and agricultural implements were to be sent for their use.

In the Government Commissioner's Report on the Gambia, 1841, Doctor Madden states that 2,914 liberated Africans had been located at that Settlement, and as only about 1,400 were living there at the time of his visit (in April, 1841), nearly one-half of the whole number taken must have perished. About 600 were sent to MacCarthy's Island, and of these about 400 were left.

The Commissioner adds that the result could not have been otherwise, as from the nature of the soil—sand and swamp—the land allotted to them was of no kind of use, and in no place where they had been located had their condition been more unfortunate.

Towards the end of the year 1832 numerous complaints were made by native traders trading to the Sherbro that their goods were plundered by a party of Akus, who had established themselves at a place called Cobolo, on the northern bank of the Ribbi River.

All the available troops in garrison were sent in boats without delay to Waterloo, where they were

joined by a company of the Sierra Leone Militia and some Volunteers.

The troops proceeded to Cobolo, and when they arrived on the scene the Akus fled in all directions, many being killed, and a great number drowned while endeavouring to escape across a neighbouring creek.

The troops remained at Cobolo for four days.

Oji Corri, the leader of the movement, was shot, and the rebellion being at an end, the troops returned to Freetown.

On 7th July, 1833, Governor Findlay proceeded to England, having been ordered home by His Majesty's Government. Summoned as a witness, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1842, he stated that he was recalled for fining and imprisoning a person for libel on the Government, with the advice of the council and the King's Advocate.

He also stated that there was strong opposition in the Colony to many of his measures, and complained that owing to the influence of certain parties in the Colony with some one in the Colonial Office, the contents of despatches were known before he received them. This detracted from his influence. It may be mentioned, incidentally, that this system was not confined to these early days only; Governors have had to contend with similar disabilities in relation to their despatches and business in Council since those days. His measures also gave offence to Mr. K. Macaulay, whose influence in the Colony was great, but the circumstances cannot be here stated, owing to the fact of the questions and answers on the subject (from No. 2,992 to 3,071) not appearing in the Committee's Report, printed and published by order of the House of Commons, 5th August, 1842.

This is much to be regretted, as it seems to verify the statements previously made as to the undue influence which the gentlemen at the head of the African Institution were able to exercise over the affairs of the Colony, a cause of great irritation, and justly so, to the various Governors under the Crown. From the Report of the Committee itself, however, these questions and answers were omitted for the reason that it did not feel justified in dealing with the peculiar party

spirit above referred to, nor of forming a satisfactory opinion relative to past management and administration involved therein.

Governor Findlay stated, however, that he had not seen any statement, or any information in Doctor Madden's Report on Sierra Leone, dated 31st July, 1841, but what could have been obtained as correctly in England, without the trouble or expense of going to Africa for it.

Upon Governor Findlay's departure, Mr. M. L. Melville, King's Advocate, as next senior member of Council to the Chief Justice, assumed the Government, and held office until Governor Temple's arrival.

Major Octavius Temple* arrived in the Colony on 8th December, 1833, and assumed the Government.

After a residence of only eight months at Sierra Leone he died of fever on the morning of 13th August, 1834.

On the death of Governor Temple, Mr. Thomas Cole,† Colonial Secretary, as senior member of the Council, assumed the Government, and held office until Major Campbell's arrival.

Major H. D. Campbell‡ arrived in Sierra Leone on 13th February, 1835, and assumed the government.

Major Campbell, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, July, 1842, stated that on his appointment as Lieut.-Governor of Sierra Leone, in the latter end of 1834, he had several verbal communications with the Secretary of State, but received no written instructions from the Colonial Office. He was referred to instructions in the Colony, which, on his arrival, he found were those given to Sir Neil Campbell, in 1826. Major Campbell was verbally informed that "the Colony had been a great annoyance to the Government in consequence of the abuses and vile system existing there. He was directed to look particularly into all the Departments—civil and mili-

* Major Temple served in the army 1799-1828.

† Mr. Cole retired in 1840 after being twenty-two years in the service of the Colony, and was the first colonial officer in the service of the Sierra Leone Government to receive a pension. He was granted £300 per annum out of Imperial funds. He died in 1841.

‡ Major Campbell served in the army 1814-25.

tary—and to report generally on the whole to the Government at home."

He made various reports. He considered when he went to the Colony that the system pursued with regard to the liberated Africans, to which he devoted much of his time and attention, was bad in many respects.

Evidently the good work that had been commenced by Colonel Denham, Mr. Reffell, and Mr. Smart had been allowed to lapse, probably for the want of that continuous supervision by one person that it was impossible to obtain. He found that on landing, both sexes, and children, were all placed together in the Government yards, and that, after adjudication, they were worked in gangs with the convicts. They were then located for three months, with twopence a day subsistence, after which they were sent to the villages, regardless of the season, and placed under the Superintendents. If it was the rainy season they could not clear their lots until the dry weather came, and thus became dependent on the charity of their neighbours. The consequence was that many had drifted away to the surrounding countries and became slaves again. Some of them the Governor saw and found well treated by their Mohammedan masters. Further than this the system of instruction which Colonel Denham had introduced had fallen through, and only the remains of the system were in existence. No overseers or persons charged with assisting them in carrying on agricultural operations were in existence, the Missionary Schools only receiving them for Scriptural education.

He considered that Turner's Peninsula should have been colonised by the liberated Africans, the soil being very fertile, as the best means of suppressing the haunts of the slave-traders.

He advocated the extension of the Colony by occupation of the mouths of the rivers with establishments which would have helped to suppress the slave trade openly practised in them, and which it was beyond the power of the small forces at his disposal to police. In this he was following up the policy of General Turner, whom he speaks of as "the most able man" who had been there. His only fault was that he was too warlike. Governor Campbell considered honest action,

persuasion, and moral influence were more potent factors in dealing with the natives than violence, and he spoke, to use his own words, "from actual experience."

Some of the errors he tried to rectify, as well as to place the Government offices on a more business-like footing, but it cannot be wondered at that there was considerable confusion existing in all directions when we remember the constant changes that were going on amongst the officials, and particularly amongst the Governors.

It was during his administration (1836) that the house at Fort Thornton became the official residence of the Governors of the Colony, though it has been extensively altered since those days.

Having received frequent complaints as to the insecurity of the trade routes round the Rokelle and Porto Lokkoh Rivers, and also of the heavy impositions under which traders laboured on account of the presents or customs demanded of them by native chiefs, early in 1836 Governor Campbell proceeded to Mabelly, in the Marampa country, about 100 miles up the Rokelle river, where a number of the native kings, chiefs, and headmen assembled to meet him, to adopt measures for the general good of the surrounding country.

A destructive war, commonly known as that between Cessy Betty, the Chief of Rokon, and the Alikarlie of Porto Lokkoh, had for several years much injured the trade of the Colony with the districts on the banks of the Rokelle and Porto Lokkoh rivers, the Governor succeeded in entering into treaties of peace and friendship with the several parties, April 1836, by which an end was put to the wars, and it was agreed that no hostilities should be renewed under any pretence whatever.

Finding that the treaty entered into on 23rd September, 1831, by Governor Findlay with the kings and chiefs of the Timini country had proved in some respects inoperative, the contracting parties agreed to annul it, whereby commercial relations were placed upon a footing of security:

It being against the country law for Bey Faremah, King of Quiah country, to go to Mabile, Governor

Campbell met that king at Forodugu, on the Rokelle river, 20th April, where the Treaty of 16th April, 1830, was read and explained to the king and chiefs present, who fully approved of it, and formally consented.

In virtue of the agreement, the Governor made known, by proclamation dated 25th April, 1836, that the rivers of Rokelle and Porto Lokkoh, as well as the countries on the banks of the same, as far eastward as the Foulah Empire, were open to the trade of the Colony, free of all customs or presents to any king, chief, or headman whatever, and all persons desirous to form factories or establishments in the districts named might do so with perfect security, provided they first obtained permission from the Government.

During this expedition the Governor reached a point about two hundred miles from Sierra Leone, and met, amongst others, messengers from Timbuctoo.

Governor Campbell was recalled from the government of the Colony, and embarked for England on 13th June, 1837.

Upon his departure Mr. Thomas Cole, Colonial Secretary took charge of the government until Colonel Doherty's arrival two days later.

During 1837 an epidemic of fever again prevailed in the Colony. The disease commenced in the "timber ships" and extended to the town.

CHAPTER XI.

PERIOD 1837 TO 1852.

Colonel Doherty assumes the Government—Disturbances in Quiah country—Mohammedan Mosques at Foulah Town and Fourah Bay—Destruction of Slave Factories in Gallinas River—Population in 1840—Sir John Jeremie assumes the Government—Peace Treaty Porto Lokkoh—Mr. Carr assumes the Government—The Niger Expedition—Lieut.-Governor Fergusson assumes the Government—Colonel Macdonald assumes the Government—Peace Treaty, Mellacouri—The Barrack Hill—Dr. Madden, Commissioner of Enquiry; his report on the Colony—House of Commons Committee's Report—Gold Coast a dependency of Sierra Leone—Gambia ceased to be a dependency—Mr. Thompson in Foulah country—Lieut.-Governor Fergusson assumes the Government—Emigration to West Indies—Schools for Higher Grade Education—Peace treaties—Lieut.-Governor Macdonald assumes the Government—Peace treaties, cession of territory, Bullom—Epidemic of Fever—Monthly Mail Service—Mr. Pine assumes the Government—Sherbro Expedition—Gold Coast a separate Government—British jurisdiction extended—Lighthouse at Cape Sierra Leone—Population in 1850—Peace treaties—The Police Ordinance.

LIEUT.-COLONEL R. DOHERTY* arrived in Sierra Leone on 15th June, 1837, and assumed the government.

Trouble arose between the Nova Scotians and liberated slaves at this time, owing to the increasing prosperity of the latter, who were considered to be favoured by the Government. The real cause was that, whilst the Nova Scotians became traders and lost their money by giving credit to natives beyond the jurisdiction of the Colony, the emancipated slaves, by greater prudence, diligence, and frugality, were rising to comparative wealth and eminence. Meanwhile a civil war broke out between the people of Waterloo and the Timinis, which had to be suppressed by force, and a number of Akus left the country.

* Colonel Doherty entered the army in 1803, and served at the capture of Martinique (wounded) 1809, and Guadaloupe 1810. In 1827 he was appointed to the 1st West India Regiment, and in 1835 to the command of the 89th Foot.

In June, 1839, the agents of the Church Missionary Society and some of the native teachers of religion represented to the Government the rapid increase of Mohammedanism among the liberated African population of the Colony, and the more open and ostentatious observance of its rites by that class.*

Governor Doherty, in bringing the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State in December following, observed that the converts had chiefly established themselves in the north-eastern suburbs of Freetown on two locations, called Foulah Town and Fourah Bay, where they had possessed, until lately, two large and conspicuous mosques, of which one was then standing, and where, to the number of about one hundred families in each place, they lived in the open practice of polygamy, allowed by their law, and, of course, in the open contempt or violation of the quiet and decency of the Christian Sabbath, and of every other observance of the Church, to the great scandal of the Christian community surrounding them, which itself had always been distinguished and orderly in no common degree.

The headmen of each body of Mohammedans sent forward a remonstrance, and the people of Fourah Bay affirmed that Governor Campbell sanctioned the erection of their present mosque, which was, no doubt, true. The mosque at Foulah Town had been destroyed some time previously through a mistake of some officers of police.

The Governor had in contemplation the breaking up of the establishment in Fourah Bay and removing its members to a more distant part of the Colony, but decided to refer the question to the Secretary of State, more especially as it appeared from a despatch addressed to Governor Findlay, in May, 1833, that such a measure could not be enforced by a simple order of Government, but must be accomplished by means of a legislative enactment.

The Mohammedans settled at Foulah Town had recently waited on the Governor, and signified their willingness to quit their location altogether for any other spot pointed out to them by the Government,

* *Vide Parliamentary Paper No. 557, August, 1842.*

provided the body stationed at Fourah Bay should be subjected, in all respects, to the same conditions.

In reply to the Governor's despatch, he was authorised by the Secretary of State to remove the Mohammedans from Freetown, as he had proposed. They requested three months to select other locations in the Colony and to remove their effects, which was readily acceded to.

The removal did not, however, take place, for in April, 1841, when Doctor Madden, Commissioner of Enquiry, visited Sierra Leone he found that two other houses used as mosques, on a smaller scale, had sprung up in their places.

As will be seen from Chapter XX., the Mohammedans have since been enjoying, with other religious bodies, the full toleration and protection of the British Government.

It apparently did not occur to the Missionaries that some day the Mohammedans might refuse to tolerate Christianity in their country. A year later, in 1840, Porto Lokkoh was first occupied as a mission station by the Church Missionary Society, but had to be given up not long after in consequence of the opposition of the inhabitants, most of whom were Mohammedans.

In 1840 another war broke out in the Quiah country between the Timinis and Kossohs of Mabana and the people of Songo Town, who had located themselves outside the boundaries of the Colony. The position is given very clearly in Doctor Madden's Report of 1842, pp. 259 and 260.

Some years previously to 1840 a considerable number of Kossoh liberated Africans had taken possession of a portion of the Quiah country adjoining the Sierra Leone territory, and established villages in it without the permission of the natives.

In June, 1840, several causes of quarrel had taken place between the natives of the Quiah country and the factors of the merchants of Sierra Leone, on account of some logs of timber, the property in which was claimed by both parties; and likewise between a native and the settlers of the village of Waterloo, on account of the abduction of a child who had been left

at Waterloo by a Mandingo in charge of one of our settlers, and who was subsequently forcibly carried away for the purpose of being dealt with as a slave.

The Mandingo had been pursued and arrested by our authorities, and the child was recovered; and the dispute about the timber was also settled; but the Quiah people, finally irritated by what had taken place, determined on the expulsion of the Kossoh intruders from their territory, and they proceeded to acts of violence which ended in the driving out from their country of 400 or 500 of the liberated Africans who had established themselves there. Peace was eventually restored by the occupation of the frontier village of Waterloo by a party of the Royal African Corps, and by the prudent measures adopted by Governor Doherty.

Things were in this position when the Governor addressed the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject, on the 29th of July, 1840.

He stated that the strangers who had settled in the Quiah country had formerly belonged to the Colony as liberated Africans of the nations called Kossohs; that it was now many years since this people left the Waterloo district, in which they were located, and crossed over to the Quiah side, tempted by a more fertile soil, and by the hope, probably, of greater independence of action, and, perhaps, by the desire of approaching nearer to a branch of their own nation. To this occupation the Governor refers as the remote and proper cause of the recent hostilities, and states that the Timinis, or natives of this country, disclaim all feelings of hostility to the Colony itself.

This circumstance is worthy of consideration, for when they appeared in arms against the intruders and drove them on our frontier, their proceedings had been represented to the Governor in very exaggerated terms; and, as usual in such cases, where the rights of uncivilised people are infringed by Colonists living on their borders, their opposition to encroachment was set forth as a premeditated attack on the Settlements of the most formidable character.

The good sense and moderation of the Governor prevented his being led away by these representations, and he did not suffer the expulsion of the aggressors

in this quarrel to be made a pretext for reprisals on the natives, and the acquisition of territory in dispute.

But he thought it would be a good measure to purchase the sovereignty of the country as the best means of getting rid of "a source of constant embarrassment and annoyance to the Government of the Colony." He accordingly recommended in his despatch to Lord John Russell that this measure should be adopted. The Government, however, took no steps in the matter until twenty years later (after the Quiah war of 1861), when it obtained possession of it by cession and without purchase.

Doctor Madden considered the acquisition of this territory (Quiah) would be very advantageous to the Colony, and suggested that the property of the land in the country should be purchased outright at once, and not the mere nominal title of its sovereignty, which the natives have, in too many instances in this country, good reason to suspect is but a covert method of establishing a footing in their country for the purpose of obtaining the future possession of it.

In September, 1840,* a complaint was addressed to Governor Doherty by King Siacca, Chief of the Gallinas country,† on the subject of a strict blockade of the Gallinas river which had for a considerable period been maintained by H.M. squadron on the Sierra Leone station. In the following month information reached the Government of the detention in slavery by Prince Manna, a son of the same chief of a Sierra Leone woman and child, who had been seized and detained for a pretended debt.

So soon, therefore, as an opportunity presented itself of communicating with King Siacca and with the senior naval officer on the station, the Honourable Commander Denman, who was himself conducting the blockade of the river, the Governor addressed a reply to the Chief, in which, while he answered his remonstrances, he called upon him to order the immediate surrender of the Queen's subjects detained in captivity to H.M. ships; and he made a requisition at the same

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper No. 551, August, 1842.

† A portion of the Gallinas territory was ceded to Great Britain in 1882, *vide* Chapter XV.

time on Captain Denman for the assistance, if it should be necessary, of the naval force under his command to effect this object.

Captain Denman, on entering the river in H.M. sloop "Wanderer," at daylight, on 19th of November, observed the Spaniards carrying off a large number of slaves from the factories in their canoes. He chased them and succeeded in rescuing about 900.

He passed the bar of the river with a force in the ship's boats, and, after some correspondence and delay, not only procured the surrender by King Siacca of the Sierra Leone woman and child, but concluded an agreement with that chief in the name of Her Majesty, by which, in consideration of the injury done him, and the danger into which he had been brought as sovereign of the country by the unfriendly and insolent proceedings which the Spanish slave-traders had permitted themselves to adopt within his territory towards the power of England, King Siacca consented to the total destruction of the slave factories of those strangers, and the delivery to Captain Denman, for location in the Colony, of all the slaves imprisoned in them, with all the chains, shackles, and bar-iron employed in chaining those persons and forging their chains, and whatever boats and canoes were made use of for the purpose of their embarkation in slave ships. In execution of this compact the large slave factories at Paisley, Jeinbo, Minna, Jekrel, Comassoon, Comatindo, Teiro, and Dombocorro, were burnt and rased to the ground during five days, and their slaves, to the number of 841 persons, received on board the Queen's ships and conveyed to Freetown, where they were handed over to the Liberated African Department, there to remain in location until the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government should be known.

The slave traffic undoubtedly sustained a greater blow through the measures adopted on shore by Captain Denman than it received by any of the numerous and important captures which had been effected at sea.

Gallinas was the most celebrated mart and stronghold of the Spanish slave trade on the whole line of the African coast, and as such it had long maintained itself in defiance of the Colony, its immediate neighbour.

The enormous extent of this traffic at the Gallinas could be imagined from the number of large factories on different islands or points in the river, and belonging to various firms at Havana. It was estimated that the average exportation of slaves per annum could not have been less than 15,000.

While the actual material benefit achieved by the destruction of the slave factories was very great, the moral consequence was such that many of the Spaniards sought the protection of the British flag on board the "Wanderer," and were conveyed to Freetown in a state of the same destitution as that in which slaves are commonly landed from captured slave ships, so that it became necessary to place them on the rations of the commissariat as if they had been so landed.

In July, 1840, the Royal African Corps, since 1830 a native regiment, became the 3rd West India Regiment, Governor Doherty was appointed to the government of St. Vincent in December, 1840.

On the eve of Colonel Doherty's departure the inhabitants of the Colony subscribed two hundred and twenty guineas for a piece of plate to be presented to him to commemorate the great support he afforded the cause of education, religion, and morality during the period of his administration of the government.

About this time the population of Freetown numbered 71 whites and 13,475 blacks.

Sir John Jeremie* arrived in the Colony 16th December, 1840, and assumed the Government.

The election of a new ruler or Alikarlie of Porto

* Sir John was appointed Chief Justice of St. Lucia in October, 1824, and held this post for six years. He became an earnest abolitionist of slavery, and on that account his appointment in 1832, as public prosecutor of Mauritius, was so unpopular that on arrival at Port Louis he landed under the protection of a military escort. A few weeks after landing he was attacked in the streets by a mob. The Governor directed him to embark for England. He was ordered to return to Mauritius, 1833. In August, 1833, he charged the judges with being interested in slave-holding, and in October of the same year he resigned and quitted Mauritius.

In 1836 he was sent to Ceylon as judge, and while serving there his coadjutors in the anti-slavery cause presented him with a massive silver candelabrum for his defence of negro freedom.

In October, 1840, Mr. Jeremie was appointed Governor of Sierra Leone, and was knighted the following month.

Lokkoh being imminent, and the assent of the Governor of Sierra Leone to the appointment being desired, Sir John Jeremie proceeded to that town in January, 1841.

On arrival he found that past proceedings, particularly the fate that had attended the preceding treaties, and the non-payment of the rents stipulated by Governor Campbell, had induced the Lokkohs to look upon the Government of Sierra Leone, its promises, and its influence, with the coolest indifference.

At a meeting of the Chiefs, on 28th January, 1841, the Governor addressed them, and stated that the reasons why the former treaties had not been ratified, viz., the Government pledging itself to take part in their wars, and also to give up their slaves who took refuge in the Colony.

On 13th February the Alikarlie was installed, and a new treaty of peace and friendship signed, the assembled chiefs agreeing to put an end to the slave trade, and also that the English and the Timinis should trade together, "innocently, justly, kindly, and usefully."

It was further declared that the Conventions with Governors Findlay and Campbell, in 1831 and 1836 were void. That no wars should be entered into without acquainting the Governor of Sierra Leone, and the practice of making human sacrifices on account of religious or political ceremonies should cease for ever in the Timini country.

Sir John Jeremie held office only four months. He died of fever at Freetown, on 23rd April, 1841.

Mr. John Carr,* Queen's Advocate, as senior member of Council, next to the Chief Justice, took charge of the government on the death of Sir John Jeremie.

The Government Expedition to the Niger, consisting of three steamers of the Royal Navy, the "Albert," the "Wilberforce," and "Soudan," under the command of Capt. Trotter, R.N., arrived in Sierra Leone towards the end of June, 1841.

The object of the expedition was to explore that

* Mr. Carr, a coloured West Indian, was appointed Queen's Advocate of Sierra Leone in 1840, and Chief Justice 1841, which position he occupied for more than a quarter of a century. He retired 1867 on a pension of £1,000 per annum, and died in 1880.

great river, to examine the capabilities of the country along its banks, to enter into treaties with the native chiefs for the abolition of the slave trade, and to open the way for commercial enterprise.

The commanders of the vessels were the Commissioners empowered to make treaties with the native chiefs, whilst the African Civilisation Society engaged several scientific gentlemen to accompany the expedition, and the Church Missionary Society at Sierra Leone was allowed to send missionaries to examine into the practicability of establishing missions on the banks of the Niger.

For this latter purpose the Rev. J. F. Schön, one of the Society's Missionaries in Freetown; Mr. S. Crowther,* catechist; a schoolmaster, and some native teachers and interpreters accompanied the expedition.

It left Sierra Leone on 2nd July, and began to ascend the Niger on 20th August. Some treaties to abolish the slave trade and for the encouragement of commerce, and consenting to allow Missionaries to settle in the country, were concluded with the chiefs, but fever of a most malignant character broke out in the vessels early in September, and it was found necessary to steam down the river with all speed. The mortality among the Europeans was most disastrous, 42 men out of 150 having died within two months, while out of about 150 Africans on board not one died from the effects of the disease. Thus failed the Niger Expedition of 1841.

Mr. Carr, on 3rd September, 1841, handed over the government to Surgeon W. Fergusson, who laid claim to it by virtue of Her Majesty's Warrant, dated 28th June, 1841, appointing him Lieutenant-Governor of Sierra Leone.

Lieut.-Governor Fergusson,† however, held office for only five months until the arrival of Colonel Macdonald.

* Samuel Crowther, catechist, was the first African admitted to the ministry (1843) of the Church of England. He became the first Bishop of the Niger in 1864.

† Staff Surgeon Fergusson was a man of colour and African descent. He entered the Army Medical Department as Hospital Assistant in 1813, and for a time filled the post of surgeon to the Colony of Sierra Leone.

Colonel George Macdonald* arrived in Sierra Leone on 31st January, 1842, and assumed the government.

On 5th November, 1842, Governor Macdonald entered into an agreement with Mora Alifa, King of Mellacouri,† the king engaging that no war whatever should be undertaken by him for the purpose of obtaining slaves to be transported across the sea, and that he would use his best endeavours to prevent war in any part of his territories, and also that he would in every way forward the interests of the merchants and traders of Sierra Leone, allowing free passage through his country.

On the part of Her Majesty's Government it was agreed that, so long as these conditions were complied with by King Alifa, a present should be made to him annually of three hundred bars.

The portion of the land in Freetown known as the Barrack Hill, lying around the Martello Tower on Tower Hill, the foundation stone of which was laid by Governor Day in 1805, was vested in the principal officers of Her Majesty's Ordnance by an Act passed on the 12th November, 1842.

In consequence of reports that the Merchant Government of the Gold Coast connived at the slave trade, Lord John Russell, then Secretary for the Colonies, expressed his opinion that it was desirable the government of these Settlements should be resumed by the Crown, and instructed Doctor Madden, a gentleman who had been formerly employed as a stipendiary magistrate in the West Indies and subsequently in the Mixed Commission at Havanah, to proceed as Commissioner to the Gold Coast and the other British Settlements on the West Coast of Africa for the purpose of investigating these and other matters connected with the administration and condition of these Settlements.

* Colonel Macdonald entered the army in 1805, and accompanied the expedition to Hanover in that year. With the army in Sicily 1806-10. In 1811 employed against the French army. In 1812 employed in Spain. To Canada in 1814, and was present at the operations before Plattsburg. He served also the campaign of 1815, and received three wounds at Waterloo. He died in 1883, having nearly reached the hundredth year of his age.

† Mellacouri is now within the French sphere of influence. *Vide* Anglo-French Convention, 1889.

He was at the same time instructed to inquire into and report upon the prospects of emigration from Sierra Leone to the British West India Colonies.

In April, 1841, Doctor Madden arrived in Sierra Leone, and stayed a fortnight in the Colony.

Upon return to England, Doctor Madden sent forward his Report upon the Colony.*

In it he referred particularly to the frightful decrease amongst the liberated Africans, although up to the year 1840 none had been sent to the West Indies, and to the abuses in the administration of the affairs of the Colony, especially in the Liberated African Department.

He attributed the latter

"To the unfavourable influence of the climate on European life and health, and the frequent changes in the Government occasioned by it, and the dissimilarity of views of those who succeeded one another in such rapid succession. None seemed disposed to carry out the views of those who had gone before them. They found great evils and they adopted new plans to meet them, but before they had been completed, they died or quitted the Settlement on sick leave, and their plans died with them. An amount of abuses thus accumulated which some new functionary of more energy than his predecessor discovered and denounced, but the faster they were disclosed, the more difficult it seemed to be to deal with them, and the attempt to stem the tide of so much mischief ultimately disheartened the most zealous. I could account in no other way for the continuance of the scandalous abuses that existed in the management of the liberated Africans; and I could attribute to no other cause the condition of the apprenticed children of this class, unless, indeed, to one of a similar character, the constant alterations in the system, and the frequent removal of the teachers and managers occasioned either by death or by the change of Governors."

He condemned

"The wholesale celebration of the marriage ceremony† which formerly took place, when twenty or thirty couples of these people had been marched in one great group from the liberated African yard to the Altar to be joined in wedlock, with little previous knowledge of each other, or of the nature of

* Vide Parliamentary Papers, No. 551, August, 1842.

† This had been put an end to.

the compact into which they were about to enter as little calculated to prevent the occurrences which the Assistant Superintendent of the Liberated African Department stated in his replies—viz., that it was a common practice among the newly-married people, after a few weeks had elapsed, coming to the magistrates and applying to have their marriage cancelled by mutual consent."

The Government Commissioner appears to have been much exercised over the decline of population in the Colony, and does not seem, in the fortnight he spent at Sierra Leone, to have ascertained its cause.

Doctor Madden says in his report that whilst altogether 70,809 emancipated slaves had been sent to Sierra Leone up to the time of his visit, on the last day of the year 1840, there were only 37,029 living in the Colony.

This subject has been referred to previously, and it does not seem to us to be as surprising as he thought it. The Colony had now been in existence since 1787, and during this time it had frequently been swept by war, both native and European, and by epidemics which had carried off great numbers of people. Then many of the slaves landed from the ship were in such an emaciated and sickly condition that considerable numbers died within a year after their freedom was secured. These two causes alone, and the low birth-rate amongst the freed slaves, were sufficient to account for a large number of inhabitants, of whom no record was kept in the earlier days. In addition to this, a considerable number entered the army annually. But doubtless a great number are accounted for by the careless manner in which the slaves were dealt with after adjudication, as shown by Governor Campbell's evidence referred to in the preceding chapter. Large numbers left the Colony and became merged in the neighbouring tribes, from whom they obtained *wives* and employment, without the trouble of cultivating ground, building houses, and starting establishments of their own. Then we have to bear in mind that a certain number, some 3,000 nearly, emigrated to Gambia. These causes, and, in a great number of cases, tribal ties, in our opinion, quite account for the leakage of settlers, which apparently caused so much astonishment. Undoubtedly large numbers of Kossohs

rejoined their tribe on the Eastern frontier, and Colonel Doherty, in his evidence, recommended that captures of slaves belonging to this country should be sent elsewhere, and not to Sierra Leone.

In March, 1842, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to take evidence and report to Parliament upon the state of the Settlements, as well as upon Doctor Madden's report on his mission.

In August, 1842, the Committee agreed upon a Report, stating that they did not concur in all Doctor Madden's conclusions, or intend to warrant the accuracy of his statements, but they submitted certain rearrangements and alterations in the government of Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia, as the result of the conclusions at which they had arrived.

The principal of these were :—

- (1.) That the Gold Coast Government should be resumed by the Crown, but should not depend on Sierra Leone.
- (2.) Similarly with the Gambia, separation from Sierra Leone was recommended.
- (3.) That emigration to the West Indies should be permitted as tending to the benefit of the liberated African.

Considering the short time Doctor Madden was in Sierra Leone it can be no matter of surprise that the Select Committee declined to endorse the conclusions he arrived at in his report. It is evident that the Committee felt he was by no means justified in his strictures on the men who had worked the machinery of government under great difficulties from every point of view. As a matter of fact, Doctor Madden seems to have held the same opinion, for he says that whilst he could not consider the Colony an "utter failure," as its enemies represented it to be, he did not consider it "well managed," a very different matter. We who see the Colony as it is to-day know that the Governors did their best, and that their best was by no means bad. We also know, how frequently have we seen it, that the new-comer to the West Coast of Africa knows more about it than the men who have worked there for years—and later on, if he stays, he has the satisfaction of finding out how really ignorant he is. Doctor Madden, doubtless, heard a great deal from irresponsible critics, and his judgment was somewhat warped, perhaps, in

consequence. That seems to us fair criticism, for he could not have learnt for himself what he says he did, nor formed any kind of sound judgment upon the situation, in from fourteen to sixteen days.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Select Committee, the management of affairs of the Gold Coast was again placed under the control of the Government, but was placed under the Governor of Sierra Leone, and the Gambia Settlement ceased to be a dependency of the Colony of Sierra Leone, by Letters Patent dated 24th June, 1843.

In the same year Mr. W. C. Thompson, who was employed as a linguist and translator by the Church Missionary Society, proceeded to Timbo at the request of some merchants and other residents of Freetown, who were desirous of extending trade between Sierra Leone and the Foulah country. Mr. Thompson was cordially received wherever he went, and after eleven months' residence among the Foulahs he died at Darah, near Timbo, in November, 1843.

Doctor Blyden, the celebrated Negro traveller and savant, who was at one time the accredited Minister of Liberia to the British Court, visited Timbo, in 1873, for Governor Pope Hennessey, and says that during his stay at Sanyoyah, in the Tambakki country, he found "some of the inhabitants remember the visit to this region of William Cooper Thompson thirty years ago, the last Government Agent to this country, and his son 'Billy,' who was taken back to Freetown after the death of his father."

Governor Macdonald proceeded to England on 1st May, 1844, for the recovery of his health, and did not return to the Colony.

Upon Governor Macdonald's departure, the Lieut.-Governor, Staff-Surgeon Fergusson, again assumed the government of the Colony, and in July, 1844, he was proclaimed, under a new title, as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief.

Doctor Madden, in his reference to the population of the Colony, stated that up to the end of the year 1840 none of the emancipated Negroes had at that period been sent to the West Indies.

The recommendation of the Select Committee that the emigration of liberated Africans to the West India

Colonies should be encouraged, as being in the interest of the liberated Africans themselves and beneficial to the West Indies, where labour was required, an opinion approved in 1843 by a Committee of the House of Commons, and also by Her Majesty's Government.

Accordingly, in compliance with the Secretary of State's instructions, the following proclamation was issued by the Lieut.-Governor on 12th June, 1844 :—

"Whereas the Secretary of State has been pleased in a despatch dated 10th February, 1844, to notify to us that as, since the introduction of the Government scheme of emigration, the liberated Africans landed in this Colony are provided with the means of obtaining immediate employment by emigrating to places where their labour is in great request, they should be apprised that in case they prefer remaining in this Colony to emigrating to the West Indies, they must provide entirely for themselves.

"Now, therefore, we do hereby publish, promulgate, and proclaim that all allowances of whatsoever description heretofore issued to captured negroes by Her Majesty's Government, on their being landed in this Colony, will discontinue and cease; excepting clothing and maintenance while under adjudication (which will be supplied to them as formerly), and until they have an opportunity of emigrating to the West Indies and no longer."

The Committee of the Church Missionary Society petitioned the Secretary of State to reconsider the course prescribed by the Sierra Leone Proclamation, and to replace the liberated Africans on the footing on which they stood antecedently to its being issued, when the Government charged itself with providing for their maintenance for six months after their liberation, but Lord Stanley, while regretting that any apprehension should be entertained in regard to the effect of these regulations on the welfare of the liberated Africans, saw no reason for altering the opinion which he deliberately adopted, that the regulations were calculated to lead in every way to the advantage of the Africans.

There can be no question that Lord Stanley was correct in his views on this point. From the very foundation of the Colony there had been too much assistance given to both settlers and liberated slaves, and, consequently, a failure on their part to realise that a time must come when they must become self-dependent.

Ordinances were passed by the Legislature in 1841 and 1843 extending to the Colony the Act of the British Parliament for regulating carriage of passengers in merchant vessels, but Transatlantic emigration from Sierra Leone made little or no headway; and Lieut.-Governor Fergusson's despatch of 9th July, 1844, to the Secretary of State, accounts for the failure of emigration among the new-comers to the Colony, to the great eagerness with which they were picked up in the rural districts by the liberated Africans already settled there, who employed them as unpaid servants, and fed them scantily, if at all.

It thus became a matter of individual interest with the liberated Africans already settled in the Colony to represent emigration in a light so unfavourable as effectually to prevent the new-comers from viewing it as a measure calculated for their advantage; and their zeal in this respect met with a measure of success which it was found difficult to counterbalance.

Another circumstance to which the failure of Transatlantic emigration was, in some respects, owing, was the system adopted of late years by bodies of liberated Africans of returning to their own country. This, which commenced in 1838 or 1839, had of late years grown more and more a favourite measure.

According to the Returns furnished to Parliament, the number of immigrants and liberated Africans introduced into the West Indian Colonies from 1841 to 1850 was 13,096, or an annual average of 1,300. After the year 1850, owing to the fixed determination of the settled population not to emigrate, and to the very small number of captured Africans brought to the Colony, the tide of emigration ran very sluggishly.

As emigration depended solely on the number of captured Africans emancipated, it followed that as the slave trade decreased, so also would emigration fall off.

In order to meet the demands for education of a higher grade than the village schools supplied, Boarding Schools for the children of both sexes were established in the Colony under the fostering care of the Church Missionary Society.

The Grammar School at Regency-square, Freetown, was opened for boys in March, 1845, and the same year

saw the establishment at Regent village of an institution for the training of girls.

The building which is now known as Fourah Bay College was commenced early this year. When the ceremony of laying the first stone was concluded, it is stated in the Church Missionary Society's Report that the Lieut.-Governor addressed the assembly, but he was unable to repress his feelings when he referred to the fact that on the very spot where they were preparing to erect a building, from whence it was hoped that spiritual freedom would be imparted to many Africans, there stood forty years ago a slave factory.

British Governors are not often moved to tears, but it should be borne in mind that Surgeon Fergusson was a mulatto. A *factory* might have stood there forty years previously, but the Sierra Leone Company were not permitted to traffic in slaves.

This property was the late Governor Turner's estate, and was purchased by the Missionaries in the year 1828.

Further efforts were made to secure peace in the districts round the Skarcies river, and to promote commerce. In May, 1845, Commissioners authorised by the Lieut.-Governor concluded treaties of peace and friendship, as follows :—

At Kontaigh, with Bey Sherbro, Chief of the Samo* country, and Morie Bokery, Chief of Moricania.

At Malaghea, with Mori Lahai, Chief of Malaghea.

At Fouricariah, with Almami Ali, King and Chief of the Fouricariah country, and Almami Mari Mousa, Chief of Bereira.*

The several chiefs promising and engaging to abolish the slave trade, not to enter into wars, and to keep the trade paths open for the transit of goods.

Governor Fergusson's health failed, however, and on 27th December, 1845, he was compelled to quit the Colony. He died on the passage to England.

Mr. N. W. Macdonald,† Colonial Secretary, by Com-

* A portion of Samo now falls within the sphere of French influence, and Bereira is also within the French sphere. *Vide* Anglo-French Convention, 1889.

† Born in Skye, 1808, Mr. Macdonald was the son of Colonel Archibald Macdonald, a descendent in a direct line from the famous Lord of the Isles, and was related to Flora Macdonald, who

mission under Sign Manual, dated 17th May, 1845, appointing him Lieut.-Governor of Sierra Leone, assumed the government upon Governor Fergusson's departure.

In April, 1846, Lieut.-Governor Macdonald was appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Colony.

Steady progress was apparently being made in the abolition of the slave trade in the country round Sierra Leone, as well as the creation of friendly intercourse with the Colony, as will be seen from the following treaties entered into at this time.

On 26th January, 1847, Commander Murray, of H.M.S. "Favourite," on behalf of the Government, concluded an agreement with Antonio, King or principal Chief of the Island of Cagnabac, for the abolition of the export of slaves to foreign countries, and the King further agreed to allow British subjects to trade freely with the people of the island.

Further, certain parties for the purpose of defrauding the revenue of the Colony, having questioned the right of the British Government to the sovereignty over the whole of the Sierra Leone river,

In order to remove any doubt in the matter, Ba Mauro and Bey Sherbro concluded treaties with Governor Macdonald, at Freetown, on 29th November, 1847, ceding to Great Britain sovereignty in and over that portion of their territory hereinafter mentioned :—

- (A.) Loco Marsamah—from eastern bank of Cumrobey creek to Romaborbor creek, and from Key Pullong creek to the creek which runs past the town of Rokon, extending inland for one quarter of a mile from high water mark, including the islands of Yelboya, Cortimu, and Kikonkeh.*
- (B.) Kaffu Bullom—along north bank of the Sierra Leone River from Romaborbor creek to Key Pullong creek,

in 1746 so courageously risked her life in order to save Prince Charles Edward Stuart after his defeat at Culloden. Coming of a long line of soldiers, Norman Macdonald entered the army at an early age, and joined the Bengal Cavalry. He soon left the army and entered colonial service as writer in the Secretariat at Sierra Leone, 1830. He became Colonial Secretary, 1840, and was Deputy Adjutant-General of the Sierra Leone Militia. He died in 1893 at the age of 85.

* *I idē* treaty of 2nd August, 1824, with Acting-Governor Hamilton.

extending inland one quarter of a mile from high water mark.

These Chiefs engaged also to abolish the slave traffic, not to enter into wars, and to keep open for trade the paths and waters of the country.

In November, 1847, Commissioners authorised by the Governor concluded treaties of peace and friendship

At Dubreka,* with Marerah Dembah, King and Chief of the Kaloom country ;

At Fouricariah, with Almami Ali, King and Chief of the Fouricariah country, and Almami Sarleah, Chief of the Bereira country,

by which these Chiefs promised and engaged to abolish the slave traffic, and not to enter into wars.

In 1847, yellow fever again prevailed at Sierra Leone, seven Europeans dying in one house.

A great boon was granted to the West African Settlements this year by the establishment of a man-of-war monthly mail to and from the coast. Previous to this, letters were sent by merchant ships, which were irregular in their sailing.

In 1848, another treaty of commerce and friendship was entered into between the Sierra Leone Government and the King of Dubreka* and the Khaloon Bahgers, by which the King was to receive anchorage and water dues from all British vessels entering the river for lawful commerce.

In April, 1848, Governor Macdonald was compelled to proceed to England on leave, and during his absence from the Colony, Mr. B. C. Pine, Queen's Advocate, as senior member of Council, next to the Chief Justice, took charge of the government.

In June, 1849, Acting-Governor Pine found it imperatively necessary to take steps to put an end to the war which had for a long time been carried on in the Sherbro country between the rival chiefs of the Caulker family, and which had utterly destroyed the trade of that district.

Accordingly a naval and military force, with H.M. ships "Alert" and "Adelaide," proceeded to Yawry

* Now within the sphere of French influence.

Bay, at the mouth of the Cockboro river, and on 19th June a stockaded fort was shelled and destroyed. After some delay negotiations were held, and at Tasso, on 4th July, 1849, a treaty of peace was signed between Acting-Governor Pine and Carebay Caulker, Chief of Bompe; T. S. Caulker, Chief of the Plantain Islands, and other Chiefs of the Sherbro country, by which it was agreed that the soldiers and war-boys belonging to the Chiefs should be immediately withdrawn from every place, fort, and stockade within the territories, and the Chiefs were to remain at peace with each other.

At Bendoo, on 7th July, 1849, the parties to the treaty agreed to a Supplementary Clause providing that upon the death of C. Caulker and T. S. Caulker, the sons of George Stephen Caulker, a deceased brother of T. S. Caulker, were to succeed to the whole of the territories belonging to the Caulker family, according to the law and customs of the country, upon condition of their observing the terms of this treaty.

Governor Macdonald returned from England in November, 1849.

By Charter dated 24th January, 1850, the British territories on the Gold Coast, now consolidated by the purchase of the Danish forts at Accra and Quittah, ceased to be dependencies of the Colony of Sierra Leone, and were made a separate government.

Early in this year the Rio Nunez was in such a disturbed state, war being actually carried on at the time, that the Government took steps for the protection of British subjects there by sending Commissioners, accompanied by a military escort, up the river in H.M. ship "Teazer," to endeavour to restore peace. The Commissioners landed at the town of Ropass, where a palaver was held on 1st March with the rival chiefs, but no satisfactory arrangement was arrived at. Next day the Commissioners proceeded to Walkariah, a town higher up the river. Here matters were finally amicably settled, and the party returned to Freetown.

After this settlement, on 13th July, 1850, an Order in Council was passed extending British jurisdiction over British subjects residing in countries under the dominion of native princes adjacent to Sierra Leone.

A lighthouse having been erected, in 1850, at Cape Sierra Leone for the guidance of vessels coming to or going from the Colony, an Ordinance was passed in August of that year providing for the payment of duties or dues therefor. These were set at 3*d.* per ton on all vessels passing in and out of the Sierra Leone River, or any place within the jurisdiction of the Colony.

The population of Freetown in 1850 numbered 89 Whites and 16,590 Blacks.

In March, 1851, Commissioners authorised by Governor Macdonald concluded treaties of peace and friendship, at Warkeira, with Tonga, Chief of Kykandy, in the River Nunez; and at Caniope, with Lamina Towle, Chief of the Nalloes, in the River Nunez, by which these Chiefs promised to abolish the slave traffic, and to keep open the roads for trade.

To improve the morals of the public, in August, 1851, the Police Ordinance was passed rendering persons liable to fine or imprisonment on conviction of publicly worshipping thunder, alligators, or reptiles, or professing to discover by any fetish or country custom stolen goods, etc., whilst persons appearing in the streets of Freetown or in any other public place of resort in the Colony otherwise than in sufficient and decent clothing, were also liable, on conviction before any magistrate, to be fined. This Act remains in force up to this day.

In August and December, 1851, Commissioners authorised by the Governor concluded treaties of peace and friendship, at Fouricariah, with Quia Foday, Chief of the Fouricariah country; at Mangi, Small Skarcies, with Bey Ingar, King of the Small Skarcies river; at Kambia, Great Skarcies, with Bey Farama, King of Macbatie, and Sattan Lahai, King of Kambia, by which these important Chiefs promised to abolish the slave traffic, and to keep open the roads for the trade.

In January, 1852, Commissioners entered into similar treaties, at Medina, Rio Pongo river, with Balo Bango, King of the Rio Pongos; at Morebiah, with Stephen, King of Wonkafong, Soomboyer; whilst in August, 1852, Governor Macdonald, at Freetown, concluded a similar treaty with Nain Sugo, the Bey Sherbro, or King of the Kafu Bulloms.

These numerous treaties are important, showing how the whole country was gradually being influenced by civilisation, and being brought into friendly relations with the Colony, to the mutual benefit of the whole community, by rendering the tribes more peaceful, and promoting commerce with the hinterland of Sierra Leone.

Governor Macdonald retired in October, 1852, after a service of over twenty-two years in Sierra Leone in various offices.

CHAPTER XII.

PERIOD 1852 TO 1862.

Captain Kennedy assumes the Government—Sierra Leone created a Bishop's See—Rights of liberated Africans—Grand Jury and Slave dealing—Alien Children's Ordinance—Additional Articles to Treaties—House and Land Tax Ordinance—Mr. Dougan assumes the Government—Expedition to Malaghea—Colonel Hill assumes the Government—Mr. Dougan assumes the Government—Second Expedition to Malaghea—Disaster to Expedition—Removal from Office of Mr. Dougan—Population of the Colony, 1854—Governor Hill returns to the Colony—Ordinance to indemnify Governor Hill—The Bishop of Sierra Leone a member of Legislative Council—The Road Tax Ordinance—The Militia Ordinance—Treaties of Peace—The Registration Ordinance—Expeditions to Great Skarcies—The Marriage Licenses Ordinance—Mr. Fitzjames assumes the Government—Treaties of Peace—Prince Alfred visits Sierra Leone—Population of Freetown, 1860—The Militia Ordinance—The Native Church Pastorate—Disturbances in Quiah Country—British Sovereignty over portion ceded—The Quiah War—Terms of Peace with Kings and Chiefs—Militia Ordinance not to be revived—The Sheriff's Ordinance—Major Hill assumes the Government—Lieut.-Colonel Smith assumes the Government—Treaties of Peace—British Sherbro ceded—Removal from Office of Acting Chief Justice—Ordinance to amend the Law—Laws of England to run in Colony—Lieut.-Colonel Hill assumes the Government—Mutiny of the Gold Coast Artillery.

ON 12th October, 1852, Captain A. E. Kennedy* arrived in the Colony and assumed the government, the "Forerunner," in which he sailed, being the first contract steamer employed in conveying the mails between England and West Africa.

An important change in the constitution of the Church was made at this time. While on leave in England, 1846, the Colonial chaplain of Sierra Leone addressed the Secretary of State for the Colonies, proposing the introduction of Bishop, or some subordinate dignitary, into the Ecclesiastical Department of

* Captain Kennedy served in the army 1827-48, and was Inspector of Irish Poor Law, 1849-51.

the Colony, mentioning, among the evils consequent on such a deficiency, that the Colonial Government Church—St. George's—as well as the Church Missionary places of worship, with their respective churchyards, were unconsecrated; that there were no means of Confirmation; and that the solemnisation of marriages were sanctioned by the Colonial Secretary for the time being at the small charge of half a dollar, payable to him, without any reference to the minister who performed the service.

In December, 1851, a venerable rector, who had attended a meeting held at Exeter for the purpose of providing a fund for the support of a Bishop's See at Sierra Leone, suggested to the Secretary of State that the locality of Abbeokuta, in the Yoruba country, which might include Sierra Leone, was a better and more suitable station for the first Bishopric in West Africa; that the Colony of the Gambia required a Bishop, the English inhabitants of which, as testified by Governor Macdonald, were more in number and of a higher class than those of Sierra Leone, and that it was imperiously called for, as a Catholic Bishop and many priests were already at that station.

The idea of making Sierra Leone a part of the Bishopric of Abbeokuta is somewhat amusing when the relative position of the two places on the map is considered. The reverend gentleman was also, apparently, unaware of the fact that the very existence of the Mission at Abbeokuta was in peril at that moment owing to an attack of the King of Dahomey, which was fortunately repelled. It is curious, too, that Gambia should have been selected in preference to Sierra Leone, which has always been the more important Settlement, whilst the reasons why Sierra Leone should not have been included in the Gambia Bishopric are more mysterious still. Apparently the geography of the coast was not much studied in these days.

In the following year, however, the Colony of Sierra Leone was constituted a Bishop's See or Diocese, by Letters Patent of 22nd May, 1852, and her first Bishop, the Right Reverend Doctor Vidal, landed at Freetown on 26th December, 1852.

Doctor Vidal had been the rector of a small village in Sussex. He possessed a great talent for languages,

and his knowledge of one of the native languages of Africa, the Yoruba, led to his appointment. St. George's then became the Cathedral Church. Within the building are memorial tablets of deceased Governors, naval and military officials, and others; also a bust of Fowell Buxton, "the Negro's friend."

It is worthy of record that the liberated Africans in Sierra Leone subscribed £100 towards the monument to Sir Fowell Buxton's memory in Westminster Abbey, but they wished in addition to that to have a permanent memorial among themselves; they therefore subscribed a further sum of £80, with which they procured the bust placed in St. George's, Freetown.

In transmitting to the Colonial Office the treaty of friendship between the Government and the King of the Fourcariah country entered into in August, 1851, Governor Macdonald brought to the notice of the Secretary of State the opinion held by the Queen's Advocate, and held also, he was informed, by many eminent professional gentlemen in England, regarding the status of liberated Africans, in order that measures might be taken for the removal of all doubts.

It was held that liberated Africans could not be tried as British subjects for offences committed out of the jurisdiction of the Colony, inasmuch as there was nothing to prove that they were British subjects, the mere fact of their having been redeemed from slavery and located at Sierra Leone under British protection not

*Touching this bust the late Mr. Lawson, the Government interpreter for many years, used to tell a funny story. On one occasion he took some chiefs who were visiting the Governor to church on Christmas Day at what he called the King's Church, the Cathedral. The bust was decorated for the occasion with a few evergreens.

The chiefs watched the proceedings with great solemnity and interest, and on leaving the church Mr. Lawson, who was a good man himself, took advantage of the occasion to point out the merits of Christianity as compared with the worship of Fetish, articles of wood or stone, and such things.

They listened to him attentively for some time, but he detected that they failed to see his argument, and at last he enquired what amused them so much in what he said. Then one of the older chiefs put the question, "If gri-gri no good why all dis people praying to dat man's head with the green bushes round him?"

They had imagined all the time that the congregation had been worshipping Buxton's bust?

being sufficient to constitute them British subjects in the eye of the law so far as regards the committal by them of offences beyond the limits of the Colony.

At length, on 20th August, 1853, an Act was passed in the Imperial Parliament enacting that "all liberated Africans domiciled or resident in the Colony of Sierra Leone or its Dependencies shall be deemed to be, and to have been, for all purposes, as from the date of their being brought into, or of their arrival in, the said Colony, natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, and to be, and to have been, capable of taking, holding, conveying, devising and transmitting any estate, real or personal, within the said Colony of Sierra Leone and its Dependencies."

Liberated Africans were also held to be British subjects for the purpose of treaties with Native Chiefs.

The proceedings of the Grand Jury, in defeating the ends of justice by throwing out most of the Bills sent before them for slave dealing in the Colony, had for some time engaged the attention of the Executive. At the General Quarter Sessions held in June, 1853, eleven Bills were sent before the Grand Jury for slave dealing, and of these eight were thrown out.

Governor Kennedy, in bringing this matter under the notice of the Secretary of State,* observed that of the first convictions, and a very great majority of the whole arraigned for trial at former sessions charged with slave dealing, were "Mandingoes" or Mohammedans, and little difficulty was found in procuring a conviction in most of the cases; a failure was only the result where the accused happened to be in the employment of, or connected with, influential persons. As the Governor extended his inquiries, he found that the liberated Africans resident in the Colony (more especially the Aku race, who formed two-thirds of the population, and represented a large portion of its property) were deeply and habitually implicated in this disgraceful traffic.

The slave trade here referred to must not be confused with the traffic in slaves with the West Indies and America, which had ceased. It was the system of selling slaves to each other which existed amongst the native tribes, and still exists, though not so openly,

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers No 1,995 of August 1855.

and which the British Government does its best to put a stop to, not without considerable success.

Owing to the facts which came out in evidence on the slave trials during the year 1852, clearly showing that the Colony had of late years been made a depôt or mart for the sale of children by Mohammedan slave dealers and others, it became necessary to enact laws for the protection of children who might come within the boundaries of the Colony for any purpose.

An Ordinance* was passed, 7th December, 1853, for the better Protection of Alien Children, the chief provisions of which are that a book shall be kept for entering the names of the parties having under their charge alien children ; that the Police Magistrate is to summon parties having the custody of an alien child to appear before him to declare the name, etc., of such child, and with whom residing.

Persons bringing alien children into the Colony to appear at the Police Office within twenty-four hours after arrival, and give necessary particulars for registration.

Alien child and certificate of registration to be produced when required, and proposed change of residence, death, or departure from the Colony must be communicated to the Police Magistrate.

This rendered it impossible to dispose of these children without coming within reach of the law, and put a complete check upon the traffic, which otherwise would soon have reached vast proportions.

In furtherance of the prevention of the general slave traffic, additional Articles to previous treaties were signed in 1853 and 1854, by various chiefs agreeing that whenever British cruisers fell in with any vessels or boats belonging to other nations within the waters of the Chief's territories suspected of being engaged in the slave trade they might be detained and searched, and the British Government should have the right to demand the surrender of criminals, being British subjects, accused of any crime.

In order to increase the revenue of the Colony, to enable it to meet its increasing expenses, an Ordinance

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers No. 1,995 of August, 1855.

was passed, on 8th August, 1854,* to amend the law of April, 1851, for raising a Tax on Lands and Houses within the Colony.

By this Ordinance the rate to be levied on houses was one shilling in the pound upon the yearly rent or value of the building if it exceeded £5 per annum, and five shillings was to be levied annually when the value was under £5 per annum.

On all lands a tax of sixpence per acre was to be levied, and on empty lots of land a tax of five shillings per annum for each and every such lot; rural lots to be assessed at three acres.

For persons refusing or neglecting to pay taxes, the Sheriff was required to levy the taxes on their goods and chattels.

Defaulters were liable to be compelled to perform three days' labour, without pay, on the public roads or works for every shilling of tax not paid, and to be imprisoned in the common gaol, with hard labour, if they refused to work.

Upon Governor Kennedy's quitting the Colony, 13th October, 1854, Mr. Robert Dougan, Queen's Advocate, assumed the government.

Shortly before the departure of Governor Kennedy to England a report reached him of an unprovoked robbery of the stores of a British subject trading at Mahala to the value of about £200. The Government called upon the Chiefs of the Skarcies river to make reparation, which they promised to do.†

It was soon evident, however, that they intended to evade payment for the goods taken if possible. Accordingly Mr. Dougan made application to the Chiefs of the Moriah country and King Morah Mina Lahi to have the matter settled, but they also failed to do so.

On the contrary, a further robbery seems to have been committed on the factory at Mahala, and, in addition, the traders in the Mellacouri river reported that the conduct of Mina Lahi had become most outrageous, and that he had ordered them to leave the river in ten days, which they could only do with great

* Repealed by Ordinance No. 12 of 7th August, 1872.

† *Vide* Parliamentary Papers No. 1,997 of August 1855, and No. 2,111 of June 1856.

loss to themselves. They appealed to the Government to take steps at once for their protection.

As such conduct on the part of the Native Chiefs would, if acquiesced in, prove most injurious to the commerce of the Colony, Mr. Dougan proposed to send up troops and war vessels to make a demonstration, and bring the chiefs to a sense of their conduct. At this moment H.M.S. "Prometheus" arrived at Sierra Leone, and on consulting Captain Heseltine, her commander, he was of opinion that it would be better, before applying forcible measures, to send the "Prometheus" with letters to the chiefs, and the account of the compensation claimed by the British and French traders for losses and cost of removal, and make the endeavour to bring them to terms peaceably.

Captain Heseltine was successful in his mission, the conduct of the chiefs having been satisfactory, though Mina Lahi was not present, and they agreed to pay off the claims presented by him, amounting in all to 1,030 dollars, within three months. Some 450 Royal Marines and 1st and 3rd West India Regiments were landed, and this demonstration apparently created a great effect, as the expedition returned without having fired a hostile shot, and three weeks later the traders were all re-established in their factories in the Mella-couri and Skarcies river, carrying on their business unmolested.

In March, 1855, Mr. Dougan, who was again administering the government, after the departure of Colonel Hill to England, he having remained only three weeks at Sierra Leone, was able to report that the Chief of the Moricanyeah river had paid 595 dollars in two months as compensation for a robbery at Mahala in 1854, and all appeared to be going on well.

In May, 1855, however, five months having elapsed since Captain Heseltine's agreement was made, and no part of the 1,030 dollars having been paid by King Mina Lahi and the Moriah Chiefs, Mr. Dougan despatched Mr. Dillet, his private secretary, to Malaghea, with a demand for the amount.

The King attempted to evade the arrangement, saying that he had signed the agreement whilst on a sick bed, and promised to pay 300 dollars only. Mr. Dillet very properly refused to entertain the offer, informing

the King that the next demand would assuredly be made by a hostile force, and then returned to Freetown and reported on his mission. Mr. Dougan considered that nothing short of hostile measures would be effective in enforcing the claims for injury done to British and French subjects.

Accordingly, Lieutenant Nicolas, R.N., of H.M.S. "Teazer," and Captain Fletcher, 1st West India Regiment, commanding the troops, were applied to for the necessary forces. Lieut. Nicolas thought 100 men would be sufficient for the work, and stated that he had ample supplies of rockets and ammunition on board. Captain Fletcher,* however, appears to have differed in opinion as to the number of men required, on the ground that if 450 men had been employed to extract a promise from these chiefs, 150, the number Mr. Dougan applied for, were insufficient to enforce its fulfilment. Events proved him to be correct in his views, but Mr. Dougan overruled him and peremptorily ordered the force required to be sent.

The Commissioners appointed to deal with the chiefs were Lieut. Nicolas, R.N., Captain Fletcher, 1st West India Regiment, and Mr. Dillet, and their instructions were to increase the sum demanded by 200 dollars for the insult offered to the Government.

On 22nd May, 1855, the expedition arrived at Malagheha, and fired a shell and a rocket over the town, whereupon a flag of truce was hoisted on the King's staff. The Commissioners landed with an escort, and requested the King to meet them on the wharf. The King had, however, left the town immediately after hoisting the flag, but his Prime Minister, Mohmodoo Touray, appeared, and refused to say where the King was. He was told that the town would be fired on in half an hour if the King did not put in an appearance, and was himself made a prisoner of war—the first mistake of the expedition.

The King not appearing, fire was opened on the town, the mosque, the King's house, and several of the principal buildings being destroyed. The whole town seemed to be in a blaze, and on account of the extreme heat of the burning houses and the probability of the

* Ellis' *History of the First West India Regiment*

troops suffering therefrom, they retired to the boats. As the "Teazer" could not remain off the town, owing to her draught of water, the troops were re-embarked. The vessel dropped down to Binty, at the mouth of the Mellacouri, that evening.

After the troops had all got on board it was discovered that one portion of the town had not been burnt, whereupon the Commissioners determined to complete the work of destruction next day—this was another blunder.

On 23rd the "Teazer" returned, and after shelling the town again, and seeing none of the enemy, the troops were once more landed. Lieut. Nicolas and Mr. Dillet, with a small advance guard, proceeded in front of the troops to indicate the buildings to be burnt, but on reaching the crest of the hill on which the town was built, fire was opened on the party, and Mr. Andrews, the assistant paymaster of the "Teazer," was mortally wounded whilst proceeding to apprize Captain Fletcher of the attack. Two of the Commissioners—Lieut. Nicolas and Mr. Dillet—were wounded and five men killed on the spot, including Sergeant-Major Scanlan, 3rd West India Regiment, who died fighting nobly. He was decapitated, but later on his whole body was buried together at Malaghea.

The action then became general, and as his men were falling fast, and the enemy pressing the force severely, Captain Fletcher fell-back on the river side to embark. He succeeded in getting some safely on board, when a boat containing forty men capsized from too many men rushing on one side, whereby about thirty of them were drowned. When the boat capsized a flag of truce was hoisted from the ship and her firing ceased, but as the enemy continued their fire, the flag was hauled down after a few minutes and the guns again brought to bear against them.

Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General Firth was dragged out of the water and murdered. Captain Fletcher himself, Lieutenant Wylie, and Lieutenant Vincent were forced to retreat to a mud island in the river, and when Lieutenant Wylie and most of the men were killed, and Lieutenant Vincent badly wounded, the survivors had to swim to the ship to save their lives.

The total losses of the day were :—

MILITARY.

Killed—Lieut. Wylie, 1st W. I. Regiment,
Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Firth.
72 Non commissioned Officers and Men.
Wounded—Lieut. Vincent, 2nd W. I. Regiment.
11 Non-commissioned Officers and Men.
Missing—1 Non-commissioned Officer.

ROYAL NAVY.

Killed—Assistant Paymaster Andrews.
Wounded—Lieut. Nicolas and 2 Seamen.
Missing—2 Seamen.

COLONIAL SERVICE.

Wounded—Mr. Dillet, Governor's private secretary.

The loss on the part of the enemy was reported to be enormous, the grape and canister making frightful lanes in their ranks.

The expedition returned to Sierra Leone, as the "Teazer" had run out of shell and rockets, notwithstanding Lieutenant Nicolas' assertion that he had ample provision on board.

Mr. Mallard, the harbour master, then was sent to the Mellacouri, and, after due time, obtained the return of prisoners, arms, and accoutrements, and the opening up of the rivers to traders.

The demeanour of the King and Chiefs towards himself was particularly civil, and he reported that there was only one opinion in the river, and that was if the steamer had waited a few hours the whole of the money would have been paid.

On their part the Government of Sierra Leone did not claim the 1,030 dollars, for reasons given later.

Probably had the mission been entrusted to Mr. Mallard in the first place, the disaster to the British forces would not have occurred, as he showed great tact and judgment in dealing with the chiefs.

The Home Government strongly disapproved the action of Mr. Dougan,* and, having adjudged the

* Mr. Dougan was a mulatto, and practised at the Sierra Leone Bar before his appointment in 1832 as acting King's Advocate. In 1870 was granted a pension of £200 per annum. He died in Freetown July, 1871, having resided over forty years in the Colony. A moiety of the pension was granted to his widow in September 1871.

disaster to be the result of complete mismanagement, removed him from his office as Queen's Advocate.

The military and naval commanders were censured for detaining Mohmodoo Touray as prisoner whilst under a flag of truce, though it was claimed by those officers that the Prime Minister was taken prisoner after the flag was hauled down, and brought witnesses to endorse their statement.

Mr. Dillet was considered to have failed completely in his duty. He received a list of goods sent to Binty in part payment of the amount claimed, but does not seem to have recognised its importance; he should not have countenanced any detention of Mohmodoo Touray, nor, after the punishment inflicted on the first day, should he have allowed the second day's proceedings to take place without protest and reference to the Governor. The real truth was Mr. Dillet was not a person of sufficient rank or importance in the Government for such a mission, and should never have been employed, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies directed that he was not to be so employed again, though allowed to retain his post at Sierra Leone. It was the statement that a proportion of the claim in question was sent to Binty, as it was, that induced the Government to waive the whole claim from the chiefs under Mr. Mallard's negotiations of the final settlement of this matter.

Upon the more general question, as to the policy of these expeditions, the authority by which they were undertaken, and the justification of them on political grounds, the Secretary of State, in his despatch to Governor Hill, remarks that Mr. Dougan did not consult the Legislative Council, which he was bound to do, before either of the expeditions were undertaken.

Mr. Dougan announced to the Commodore on the station that in consequence of the non-payment, after the stipulated time for paying it had expired, of a heavy sum of money imposed upon the chiefs as an indemnity by a large naval and military force a few months before, the only way of punishing the chiefs was to destroy their town, and, if possible, to bring the King down to Sierra Leone.

The Secretary of State repudiated distinctly such a line of policy, and pointed out that by such conduct we should never lay the foundation of civilisation in Africa,

and the native races there might justly accuse us of imitating their example.

The Governor was cautioned also to use the utmost circumspection in interposing the authority of the Colonial Government in the dealings between the natives and the European traders ; above all, no measures involving the use of military or naval force for such a purpose should be taken without the authority of the Home Government, which would carefully weigh the reasons adduced in favour of it.

More than one of our little wars in West Africa has been caused through not understanding the natives, and by the lack of patience so necessary in our dealings with them.

Time is not of such importance to the Native Chiefs as it is to the British officer. The chiefs have their own way of settling matters which are not exactly all fours with the routine of a Government office, or the usages of the camp, or the quarter-deck of a man-of-war, where short notice is given and action prompt.

You must hold palavers, and plenty of them, too, and exercise patience almost unlimited, and presently all comes straight.

It must also be borne in mind that the British official in West Africa, being unacquainted with the native languages, he is to a certain extent at the mercy of the native interpreter, and should therefore act with great caution.

It will take years to convince the Negro that European traders are all philanthropists, and that their action is mainly for the good of the native, and void of self-interest.

Another phase in our disputes with natives did not in these days meet with proper consideration. Some of these wars we owed, in a measure, to that contempt for other races which is one of the worst points of English character ; another cause being the eagerness of officials " dress'd in a little brief authority " to report home that the natives had been taught a lesson, and that a powerful effect had been produced on them by the prompt display of strength upon the part of the Government.

European nations have not always shown themselves wise in pursuing measures which were a source of irritation to otherwise friendly powers. Too much should

not, therefore, be expected from aboriginal native tribes with whom we come in contact, and who are often subject to influences of which we have probably no knowledge, and not infrequently arising from a complete misunderstanding of European methods. Naturally suspicious of the alien, who appears to be inimical to his immediate interests, a complete understanding with the native can only be arrived at, if at all, by the exercise of consummate tact and patience, and the men who have exercised the greatest influence over the natives of any country have been those who possessed these gifts in the highest degree.

There is not much honour and glory in a disciplined force, well armed and supplied with shells and rockets, thrashing a native mob armed with only trade guns and spears, and destroying villages, entailing thereby much suffering upon unoffending women and children. The work of destruction may be entered upon with a light heart, because the mud and bamboo huts can be erected cheaply and quickly in another quarter, but the Negro, undoubtedly, resents the enforced removal.

Acting-Governor Dougan, in forwarding his Report on the Blue Book of the Colony for 1854, stated that the population of Freetown and the four districts numbered 40,383, including the troops, in that year.

In explanation of the decrease, since 1851, of 4,473 persons, he pointed out that there were very many absentees trading in the neighbourhood of Lagos, between which place and Sierra Leone there was a very great and increasing traffic in palm oil sprung up within the past three years, and during that period only sixty-one persons had emigrated to the West Indies. He further added that it was a difficult matter to account correctly for the very large deficiency in population.

On 18th September, 1855, Governor Hill* returned to the Colony from leave of absence. It will be remem-

* Lieut. Colonel Hill, born in 1809, entered the army 1825, and became Lieut.-Colonel in 1854. In 1849 he commanded an expedition eighty miles up the Gambia: stormed and destroyed the fortified town of Bambacoo, attacked Keenung, and defeated the enemy on the plains of Quenella. He was present at the attack and total defeat of pirates in the Jeba River. In 1851 was appointed Governor of the Gold Coast.

bered that he was Governor for a few weeks in the previous year.

Whilst in England an Ordinance was passed in Sierra Leone, on 30th July, 1855, to indemnify Colonel Hill and others acting under him for any acts done during his administration of the government of the Colony from 27th December, 1854, to the 16th January, 1855.

Colonel Hill, by virtue of a notice in the *London Gazette* of the 7th November, 1854, appointing him Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Colony of Sierra Leone, had assumed the government of the Colony without having received Her Majesty's Commission and Instructions, and doubts having arisen with regard to his legal authority to administer the same, it was considered expedient to pass the Ordinance quoted.

In the Royal Instructions to Governor Hill, dated 21st November, 1854, re-constituting and reappointing the members of the Council of the Colony, including the Bishop, it was expressly declared that the Bishop* of Sierra Leone for the time being should in no case succeed to the government of the Colony.

During Governor Hill's administration of the government a considerable amount of legislation was passed by the Council for the improvement of the Colony.

The provisions in the Ordinance of 19th September, 1818, for keeping in repair the roads and highways of the Colony having been found inefficient, that Act was repealed by Ordinance of 14th December, 1855,† and it was enacted that—"All persons in the Colony between the ages of sixteen and sixty should contribute 1s. 6d. a year for maintaining and repairing the same, and in default of payment, each party would be compelled to perform six days' labour on the road or works—either in person or by a male substitute."

Refusing to comply with the Ordinance rendered the offender liable to a fine or imprisonment.

An Ordinance was passed on 5th December, 1856,‡

* The Bishops of Sierra Leone held a seat in the Legislative Council of the Colony from 1853 to 1863. Discontinued by charter, 1863.

† This Ordinance was repealed by No. 10 of March, 1872.

‡ The sixth section of this Ordinance was repealed by Ordinance No. 10 of December 1880.

amending the laws in force with regard to the militia of the Colony. It was to continue in force for three years, and from thence to the next meeting of the Legislative Council.

By this Ordinance every male inhabitant resident, not being an alien, between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five, and capable of bearing arms, should be liable to serve.

The militia was to consist of one regiment of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, to be distributed as follows :—

At Freetown—3 Companies of Infantry, Artillery Company and Troop of Cavalry.

First Eastern District—1 Company of Infantry.

Second Eastern District—1 Company of Infantry.

Western District—1 Company of Infantry.

Mountain District—1 Company of Infantry.

The corps was to be called out for twenty-one days in every year, on such day and in such proportion as the Governor should, by public notice, appoint.

The officer administering the government as Colonel *ex-officio* had power to appoint officers and non-commissioned officers, and if any person so appointed to be an officer or non-commissioned officer should neglect or refuse to serve, he was to pay a sum not exceeding £100, and in default, suffer imprisonment not exceeding three months.

For the further maintenance of good relations with the neighbouring native tribes, in December, 1856, Governor Hill concluded a treaty of peace, at Freetown, with Bey Sherbro, King of Mambolo, and in February, 1857, at Porto Lokkoh, with the Alikarlie and Chiefs of that district, by which the parties agreed to abolish the slave trade and to keep the roads open. They also acknowledged the right of the Government to demand the surrender of criminals, being British subjects, guilty of any offence.

Beyond the attempt which had been made, in 1811, to provide for the registration of the allotments to the early settlers in the Colony, nothing in the shape of legislation had apparently been carried in this direction. It was deemed necessary, therefore, in order to provide for a Register of Titles to Lands, Births, Deaths, Baptisms, Burials, Marriages, and other mat-

ters in the Colony, to bring forward an Ordinance, entitled, "The Registration Ordinance," which was passed on 9th February, 1857, establishing an office for this purpose in Freetown, to be called the Registry Office, and authorising the Governor to appoint a person to be Registrar-General, with salary at the rate of £300 per annum, in lieu of all fees.

Early in 1858, in consequence of outrages committed by the Susus, a naval force under Commodore Wise proceeded up the Great Skarcies river, and drove out the Susus and war boys from the strong mud-walled town of Kambia, burnt down Kambia, and destroyed several strong stockaded towns on the northern bank of the river.

But after the return of the squadron to Freetown, the Timinis, who were left in charge of Kambia by the Governor, were again driven out by the Susus, who overran the country, and in February, 1859, burned and pillaged the town of Porto Lokkoh, the chief *entrepot* of the Sierra Leone trade.

This necessitated another expedition up the Great Skarcies river, and, accordingly, on 20th March, 1859, Governor Hill proceeded thither with a force of 200 men under the command of Major Murray, 1st West India Regiment, and a party from the navy, in three ships of war, under Commodore Wise. The combined force landed at Kambia, and as it advanced, the Susus retired across the river without fighting, and disappeared in the bush. The expedition then returned to Freetown.

In furtherance of the Act of 1857, and to make provision for the granting of *Licenses for Marriages* in the Colony and its Dependencies, an Ordinance was passed on the 14th April, 1859, authorising the officer administering the government of the Colony to grant licenses for marriages within the Colony, without the publication of banns, on payment of two guineas for every such license, the sum paid being carried to the credit of the Colony.

Governor Hill proceeded to England on leave, 20th April, 1859, and Mr. A. Fitzjames, Queen's Advocate and Police Magistrate, being the member of Council next in seniority to the Chief Justice at the time, assumed the government, and held office until that officer's return to the Colony, in September, 1860.

To bring to an end the constantly unsettled condition of affairs, of which Stephen Thomas Caulker, Chief of the Plainain Islands, had been the cause for many years, in the Sherbro river, it was considered necessary, in order to obtain a lasting peace, that he should leave Bendoo and return to his own territory at the Plainain Isles, pointed out by treaty with the Government, on 4th July, 1849.

Chief Caulker, accordingly, signed a treaty of peace with Commander F. A. Close, on board H.M.S. "Trident," off Tasso, agreeing not to go over to Bendoo, nor in any matter intermeddle with the administration of any country not his own.

In accordance with the custom of the country, this treaty was ratified by the Chief on 1st June, 1859, at Tasso, in the following curious manner:—

"I, Thomas Stephen Caulker, Chief of Plantain Islands, standing on the graves of my ancestors at Tasso in the presence of Thomas Theophilus Caulker and Thomas George Caulker, and in the presence of Lieutenant T. W. Chapman of H.M. ship 'Trident,' do solemnly swear that I will act up to the stipulations of the above treaty, and if ever I make war, except in defence of my own country, pointed out by treaty with Great Britain, may I be the first to die and be buried in this place."

On the same date, on board H.M.S. "Trident," off the Bompey river, a treaty of peace was entered into between Thomas Theophilus Caulker, Chief of Bompe, and the Chiefs of the Bompe Ribbi and Sherbro countries, agreeing the war was at an end, and that the soldiers and war men should be withdrawn.

In 1859, yellow fever again prevailed at Sierra Leone, and the disease carried off many Europeans. The Protestant and the Catholic Bishops and six missionaries had fallen victims to the climate during the year.

On 15th April, 1860, Acting-Governor Fitzjames concluded a treaty of peace, at Freetown, with Bey Mauro, King of Lokkoh Masammah, and others, by which the parties agreed to abolish the slave trade and to keep the roads open. They also acknowledged the right of the Government to demand the surrender of criminals, being British subjects, guilty of any offence.

This treaty was in continuation of that of 1856, and

completed our agreements with the principal Chiefs of the Bullom and Porto Lokkoh districts.

On the 10th October, 1860, His Royal Highness Prince Alfred—the Duke of Edinburgh—landed at Sierra Leone, from H.M. ship “Euryalus,” and received an enthusiastic welcome from all classes of the community.

The whole way from the wharf to the Government House was lined with the children of the various schools, who sang the National Anthem as His Royal Highness passed along. Amongst other addresses one was presented from the liberated Africans of the Colony, in which the following words occur :—

“We cannot refrain from pointing your Royal Highness to the thousands of free men who hail with acclamations of delight your advent among us. Think of them, hunted, beaten, branded, degraded below the beasts of the field by a slavery ending but with death. Compare that picture to this which presents itself to the contemplation of your Royal Highness to-day. Behold a population whose very bearing proclaims their freedom to the world, surrounded by all the elements of an advancing civilization, and enjoying a widely spreading Christianity. Our hearts beat high with hope that the impressions which the mind of your Royal Highness shall have received during your present visit, will convince you that England has not laboured for the amelioration of our race in vain.”

To commemorate the visit of the Sailor Prince, a large sum was raised to defray the cost of erecting an arch, and Songo Town, in Quiah land, about ten miles from the village of Waterloo, was renamed Prince Alfred's Town. The date of the visit was kept as a public holiday.

The population of Freetown, in 1860, numbered 18,035 (whites 117, and blacks 17,918).

By an Ordinance passed on 29th December, 1860, constituting a militia for the Colony, the force was to be called out once a month instead of for twenty days in every year, as provided for by the Ordinance of 5th December, 1856.

About this time the desire of the Church Missionary Society to transfer the burden of their work, excepting the Cathedral at Freetown and the establishments for higher education, to the people themselves, and make

it into a self-supporting church, supplied with its own native ministers, led to the establishment, in 1861, of the Native Church Pastorate, and the transfer thereto of the churches in connection with the Society. The constitution of the Native Church is the same as that of the Episcopal Church of England, and is steadily increasing the numbers of its clergy, and thereby enlarging its sphere of usefulness.

In March, 1861, some war-boys belonging to Bey Cantah's country of Quiah invaded the Island of Tombo, in the Sierra Leone river, and plundered the place and ill-treated the people.

When the report of this outrage on British subjects was made known to the Government, some West Indian troops were despatched to Waterloo, a frontier town, and it was decided to send a force up the river as well, in order to obtain redress. In the meantime, Bey Cantah, the king, came down to Freetown to ask for peace, and agreed to pay the expenses and compensation.

After a palaver his request was granted, and, as a security for peace, the King and Chiefs ceded to Great Britain, by treaty* of 2nd April, 1861, sovereignty over that portion of the Quiah country, measuring ten miles in width, from Waterloo and Calmont creeks to the Quiah river or creek, and sixteen miles in length from the River Sierra Leone to the Ribbi river.

The towns of Ro Baga and Ro Bany were excepted from the cession.

The inhabitants of the country ceded were guaranteed the free possession of the lands they held, in the same manner as the other inhabitants of the Colony, and the Government agreed to pay yearly to the King of Quiah and his successors a stipend of one hundred pounds. This apparently put an end to the disturbances.

In October, 1861, however, further disturbances took place, and towns in British Quiah were attacked by the people in the neighbourhood. A factory belonging to a Mr. Jolly was plundered, and the disturbances became very serious.

In consequence of these outrages, active operations

* This treaty was confirmed, but a portion of the country hereby ceded was retroceded to the kings and chiefs and people of Quiah upon certain conditions in 1862 and 1872.

were taken in hand by the Government. All the available troops in garrison were ordered to Waterloo, and volunteers for active service were called for from the Sierra Leone Militia, and duly embodied for the fight.

On 2nd December, 1861, the troops left Freetown for Waterloo, and on the 19th a force under the command of Major Hill, 2nd West India Regiment, proceeded to Madonkia, about three or four miles from Waterloo, where the Timinis had erected a stockade and war fence. The troops dispersed the enemy here and burnt the whole place. In this action Major Hill and some officers and men of the 2nd West India Regiment were wounded, and one sergeant killed.

Various other skirmishes took place between the troops and the natives, resulting in the complete defeat of the enemy.

At length the chiefs and headmen sued for peace, active operations ceased, and the force returned to Freetown.

But on the termination of the war it was considered necessary, in order to secure the Colony against further annoyance from their troublesome neighbours, to annex that portion of the Quiah country adjoining Sierra Leone, and on 1st February, 1862, a treaty was concluded with the Government by which the Kings and Chiefs agreed that

All stockades or war fences were to be pulled down, and the Queen's right to British Quiah fully acknowledged agreeably to the treaty of April, 1861.

All persons who may not wish to live under and render obedience to British law must leave the Queen's land in Quiah, and those settlers who remained in British Quiah must not build towns or houses in any place without the consent of the Government.

To avoid any further disputes it was decided that King Bey Cantah should not reside in British Quiah, but live in some other part of his dominions; his towns Ro Baga and Ro Bany having been taken by British troops now belong to the Colony of Sierra Leone.

Any of Mr. Jolly's property in the possession of the King and Chiefs to be given up to him and his losses repaid; whilst all prisoners taken by the King and Chiefs must be released.

British Quiah forming part of the Colony of Sierra Leone, all the laws of the Colony will be in force; and all country customs and sacrifices were to cease for ever.

Complaints were to be lodged with the manager at Waterloo. The King not to receive the stipend allowed him by treaty until the expenses of the war are made good.

One advantage of our occupation of Quiah, the annexation of which was recommended by the Committee of 1842, in their Report, has been the checking of the use of the overland route by the slave dealers. Previously to our occupation these men were in the habit of driving their slaves from the Bompe, Ribbi, Sherbro, and Cockboro rivers to the Susu country.

Our occupation has also been the means of introducing a great deal of grain into the Sierra Leone market, and the country where the internal slave trade formerly prevailed has become much more agricultural.

The Ordinance constituting a militia for the Colony was intended to continue in force until January, 1864, but on the termination of the Quiah war it was deemed advisable to disband the regiment, and not to revive the Ordinance.

Under the Sierra Leone Company's Charter of 1799, the Governor and Council were yearly, on first Monday in the month of September, to elect a new Sheriff for the Colony for the year ensuing. In 1861 it was considered expedient that the Sheriff of the Colony should be appointed permanently, and accordingly, on 7th June, 1861, an Ordinance was passed, enacting that, from time to time, a person should be appointed Sheriff of the Colony who should hold office during Her Majesty's pleasure.

The first Sheriff was Mr. John Meheux, who had held the office temporarily.

In 1861 it was considered necessary for the prevention and punishment of offences committed by Her Majesty's subjects within certain territories adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone, to extend to British subjects in such territories the laws then in force, or which should hereafter be in force in the Colony, for punishment of crimes.

On 11th July, 1861, an Act was accordingly passed in the Imperial Parliament for this purpose, which defined the adjacent territories as extending to the Rio Grande or Bulola to the north of the Colony, to the River Gallinas to the south of the Colony, and for five hundred miles to the east of the Colony

In February, 1861, an alteration took place in the order of succession to the government of the Colony in the absence of the Governor, power being vested in the Officer Commanding Her Majesty's Forces within the Colony. Probably this change arose out of the mismanagement of the Malageah Expedition.

Accordingly, upon Governor Hill's departure for Madeira, 22nd July, 1861, Major W. Hill, 2nd West India Regiment, took charge of the government, and held office until the arrival from the Gambia the following month of Lieut.-Colonel T. H. Smith, 2nd West India Regiment, his senior officer.

Upon Colonel Smith's return to the Gambia, 24th September, 1861, Major Hill again took charge of the government, and held office until Governor Hill's return to the Colony, 11th October, 1861.

The system of appointing the Officer Commanding the Troops to the office of Administrator of the Colony, though up to this time he had not always occupied a seat on the Council, has been continued off and on until the present day, and is not one to be commended, for various reasons.

In the first place, it often occurs that this officer is of junior rank, and so liable to be supplanted at any moment by other officers arriving at the station even of his own rank, but, by accident, a few days senior by appointment. Probably such officers are complete strangers both to the Colony and to the work of the Colony.

These circumstances led to rapid changes, as many as three or four occurring during a few months. The case of Major Hill and Colonel Smith, though both officers of higher rank than usual, illustrates this system well.

How can it be wondered at if confusion arises in such circumstances? The permanent officials of the Colony of the higher class should, surely, be the men to hold this office when necessary, notably the Colonial Secretary, whose intimate acquaintance with the detail work of the Colony peculiarly fits him to carry on the duties.

If he is not, we very much question if he is fit to be Colonial Secretary even. This is a matter which some day will bring unsatisfactory results about if not settled

upon the same footing as other Colonies. The system is totally inconvenient and senseless.

In June and December, 1861, Mr. J. MacCormack, Commissioner, authorised by Governor Hill, concluded treaties of peace with the Kings and Chiefs, at Kambia, in the Great Skarcies river, by which the parties ratified previous treaties, and agreed to keep the trade roads open, and to surrender criminals.

As stated in previous chapter, a considerable tract of country in the Sherbro district, known as Turner's Peninsula, was ceded to Great Britain, in 1825. The Government of the day, however, withheld its approval of the treaty entered into, and did not take possession of the territory.

The country continued under native jurisdiction, and a British Consul resided there up to 1861. In that year, fearing that the French Government would take possession of their territory, a French ship of war having recently bombarded the principal stronghold of Chief Stephen Caulker, at Bendoo, on the mainland, and being desirous of the security which British protection would afford them, the inhabitants offered to cede their country to Great Britain, and their offer was accepted by the Government. No doubt the prospect of obtaining considerable advantages by the acquisition of a territory which was rich in agricultural produce, and the resources of which might be still further developed, was a motive on the part of the Governor for accepting the offer of the inhabitants. There had always been a good deal of internal fighting going on also which it was desirable, in the interest of commerce, to put an end to.

On 9th November, 1861, Governor Hill entered into a treaty, at Bendoo, with the Kings and Chiefs for the cession of

(1) The portion of the Sherbro country called Bagru, Manoh Bagru, and Baleh, extending from the Yall Tucker river, on the north, to the Bagru and Baleh rivers, on the south, and extending about thirty miles inland from the Sherbro river, which bounds it on the west.

(2) The portion commonly known as the Turtle and Sherbro Islands.

(3) The portion called Bendoo and Chah, situated at the mouth of the Boom, Kittam, and Jong rivers.

The territory made over by these treaties was occupied immediately after the cession, a Civil Commandant was appointed, and troops and police were stationed in the district. It has proved a great source of revenue to the Colony, and has added very materially to its progress and prosperity.

Sherbro Island lies to the south of Freetown, and is nearly a hundred miles distant therefrom by sea. The delta of the Jong, Boom Kittam, and Bagru rivers forms what is called the Sherbro river, and separates the island from the mainland. This delta is one vast mangrove swamp. The island itself is low-lying, and intersected by numerous creeks.

The suspension from office, early in 1862, of His Honor the Acting Chief Justice caused no little excitement in the Colony.

In February, 1862, it was reported to Governor Hill that on or about the 29th December, 1861, the Acting Chief Justice spoke of him, at the house of Doctor Deane, and in the presence of several persons, in language that was highly improper, offensive, and seditious.

Upon the matter being brought before the Council, Mr. Fitzjames denied that he used the language imputed to him, with the exception of one of the expressions, which he could explain. But the Board were of opinion that the statements of the witnesses were correct, and that Mr. Fitzjames could not with advantage continue in the public service of the Colony, and unanimously recommended his suspension from office pending the decision of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State confirmed Mr. Fitzjames's removal from office . . . and, upon the recommendation of Governor Hill, the offices of Queen's Advocate and Police Magistrate were separated.

It was pointed out that the duties of both offices were not efficiently performed by one officer, added to which legal men might consider that the same officer should not, as Police Magistrate, investigate a case and commit the prisoner he afterwards prosecutes as Queen's Advocate.

It would appear, however, from the published cor-

respondence* on this matter that the real rock upon which the two principal officers of the Government split was that of "loaves and fishes."

Upon Mr. Fitzjames's† appointment as Acting Chief Justice, the Governor fixed the salary of the office at a lower rate than that provided by the Colonial Regulations, in order to give an additional £200 to the Crown Prosecutor, but the Acting Chief Justice would have none of it, and claimed his pound of flesh.

When Governor Hill went on leave, in 1859, the Acting Chief Justice took charge of the government, and during his administration several slave captures were made in the waters of the Colony entitling him to certain bounties provided for by Act of Parliament, but Governor Hill claimed these bounties, and received the money, although it is but fair to say he offered to pay over half the sum claimed. The laws on the subject of the pickings of office are sometimes vague.

On 29th May, 1862, an Ordinance was passed to amend the law as generally applied in the Colony.

By this Ordinance, which was to commence and take effect on the 2nd August, 1862, it was enacted that the Laws and Statutes in force in England on 1st of January, 1862, were also to be in force in the Colony of Sierra Leone.

No Act of Parliament not in force in England on the 1st day of January, 1862, should be in force, or applied in the administration of justice in the Colony, unless the Act should contain words legally extending the Act to the Colony or unless the Act should be extended to the Colony by an Ordinance of the Legislature of the Colony.

Upon the final departure from the Colony of Governor S. J. Hill, on 22nd July, 1862, Lieut.-Colonel W. Hill, Officer Commanding the Troops, assumed the government, and held office until Major Blackall's arrival, in November of the same year.

In October, 1862, a mutiny of a serious nature broke out at Cape Coast Castle among the Gold Coast Artil-

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper No. 284 of May, 1863.

† Mr. Fitzjames, a coloured gentleman of Trinidad, was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in May, 1847, and he had extensive practice in the West Indies. He was appointed to Sierra Leone, 1858.

lery Corps, a native regiment, raised in 1851 to garrison the forts of the Gold Coast.

It would appear that on the evening of 3rd October about 100 mutineers, after having made a savage assault upon their adjutant, whose life was saved by a few native sergeants and gunners who flew to his rescue, rushed out of the Castle with their fire-arms and took up a position at a village called Napoleon, about four miles distant from Cape Coast. After remaining there for four days they were induced to deliver up their arms to the Kings and Chiefs, by whom they were afterwards given up to the military authorities. No injury to life or property took place.

Eighty-one of the mutineers were sent to Sierra Leone in a ship of war for trial by general court-martial, at which forty-eight of them were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in Freetown Gaol, and one bugler and one gunner were condemned to be shot.

At an early hour on 10th November, 1862, Bugler Neizer was shot to death at Tower Hill Barracks, Freetown, by a firing party of the Gold Coast Artillery Corps.

Gunner Wellesley suffered the extreme penalty of the law at Cape Coast Castle. An eye-witness of his execution, in November, 1862, records that:—"His death was almost instantaneous, and few men have ever met their doom with greater heroism or courage than he displayed on that solemn and awful occasion. Mistaken in his ideas of discipline—a semi-savage—he exhibited in the end the true courage of a British soldier, and by the brave and unflinching manner in which he met his death showed that he, poor fellow, merited a better fate."

This is not the place to deal with the history of the mismanaged Gold Coast Corps, but we have been touched by the account that when the men of that corps in garrison at Cape Coast Castle were assembled, and the Commanding Officer read the order for their disbandment, in consequence of the late mutiny, he at the same time announced that the Colony was invaded by the Ashantis, and offered the men their choice to defend the Colony or return to their homes. To their credit it should be told that to a man they volunteered their services, and marched to the front.

CHAPTER XIII.

PERIOD 1862 TO 1874.

Major Blackall assumes the Government—Charter of 1863—Executive Council created—Catholic Missions established—First Industrial Exhibition—Colonel Ord Commissioner of Inquiry—House of Commons Committee's Resolution—Charter of 1866—Central Government at Sierra Leone—Court of Summary Jurisdiction—The Supreme Court—Trial by Jury in Civil Cases abolished—Epidemic, 1866—Board of Health Ordinance—Colonels Chamberlayne and Yonge administer the Government—Sir Arthur Kennedy assumes the Government—Winwood Reade Expedition—Proposed cession of the Gambia—Treaty of Peace—Captain Kendall administers the Government—Island of Bulama given up to Portugal—Public Works Loan Ordinance—Captain Kendall administers the Government—Captain Sheppard administers the Government—Census of the Colony, 1871—Waterworks Ordinance—Mission to Falaba—Captain Kendall administers the Government—Retrocession of part of British Quiah—Harbour Works Ordinance—Mr. Pope Hennessey assumes the Government—The Coroner's Ordinance—Governor Hennessey proceeds to Gold Coast—Repeal of the Road Tax, the House and Land Tax, and Market Dues Ordinances—Pope Hennessey's Day—Festival of the Mohammedans—Mission to Timbo—Mr. Keate assumes the Government—Governor Keate proceeds to the Gold Coast—Major Bravo and Colonel Harley administer the Government—Mr. Berkeley assumes the Government—Ashanti War—Governor's visit to Sherbro—Wesleyan High School for Boys—Charter of 1874—Mr. French administers the Government.

MAJOR S. W. BLACKALL* assumed the government on the 12th November, 1862.

An important change in the form of government of the Colony was effected at this time. Hitherto its affairs had been directed by the Governor and Legislative Council, but by a Charter of the Colony, dated 27th May, 1863, which revoked the Letters Patent of 5th July, 1799; 17th October, 1821; and 17th February, 1846, an Executive Council was created.

* Major Blackall, born in 1809, entered the army 1827, and on retirement in 1833 joined the Royal Longford Militia as Major. He was Sheriff for Longford in 1833, and represented that county in Parliament 1847-51. Was Lieut.-Governor of Dominica 1851-57.

The Regulations governing the Councils are as follows :—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The Executive Council (whether separate or not from the Legislative) has the general duty of assisting the Governor by its advice. In some cases, by local enactment, he can only act with this advice ; but, generally speaking, he is not absolutely precluded from acting without it if the public interest requires him to do so. But in this case he must conform to certain special rules laid down in his instructions, which, likewise, prescribe the course to be taken by Councillors in recording their opinion in opposition to the Governors.

In Colonies not having Representative Assemblies, the Executive Council, when separate from the Legislative Council, commonly consists of certain principal officers of the Local Government, with or without an admixture of unofficial members.

These Councillors are appointed by the Governor's instructions or by Warrant from the Crown, the Governor having, in some cases, the power of making provisional appointments, subject to the Crown's confirmation.

They may be dismissed by the Crown alone, but may be suspended by the Governor following, as far as the nature of the case will allow, his general instructions as to the suspension of public officers.

To the Executive Council, associated with the Chief Judge of the Colony, is also, in general, entrusted the duty of administering to the Governor, on his arrival, the usual oaths of office. Each new member of Council, on his appointment, is also required to take the oaths applying to his particular case.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Legislative Councils, nominated by the Crown, consist, generally speaking, in part, of the principal Executive Officers of the Colony, and, in part, of private persons appointed by name: the former being usually termed "official," and the latter "unofficial" members. The proportions are prescribed by the respective Charters or Commissions or Instructions to Governors.

The precedence of the members of Council between

themselves is regulated by the Royal Instructions. In some cases that precedency depends on seniority of appointment alone, but in other cases that rule is qualified by assigning to the official members of Council precedence over the unofficial members.

When a vacancy occurs by the demise, resignation, etc., of a Legislative Councillor appointed by name, the Governor may, in general, appoint provisionally to such vacancy until Her Majesty's pleasure may be known.

The general rule is that no member of Council may, on pain of vacating his seat, absent himself for more than six months except by leave of the Governor, whose power is limited to granting a leave of absence in some cases of twelve and in others of eighteen months. Any more protracted leave of absence must be granted by the Crown.

In the Colonies not having Representative Assemblies the initiation of all laws belongs, in general, to the Governor.

In every Colony the Governor has authority either to give or to withhold his assent to laws passed by the other branches or members of the Legislature, and until that assent is given no such law is valid or binding.

Laws are in some cases passed with suspending clauses, that is, although assented to by the Governor they do not come into operation or take effect in the Colony until they shall have been specially confirmed by Her Majesty, and in other cases Parliament has, for the same purpose, empowered the Governor to reserve laws for the Crown's assent, instead of himself assenting or refusing his assent to them.

Every law which has received the Governor's assent (unless it contains a suspending clause) comes into operation immediately or at the time specified in the law itself. But the Crown retains power to disallow the law; and, if such power be exercised, the law ceases to have operation from the date at which such disallowances is published in the Colony.

In Crown Colonies the allowance or disallowance of any law is generally signified by Despatch.

In Colonies not having Representative Assemblies, laws are designated as Ordinances, and purport to be made by the Governor, with the advice and consent of Legislative Council.

The conquest of Algiers by the French, in 1830, opened up a new field for Christian civilisation. Catholic Missionaries followed close upon the footsteps of the French soldiers, and churches, schools, and orphanages were established in the Algerian Colony.

The Western Coast of Africa next received the attention of the Holy See. In the forties, Missionaries were sent to Senegal and Liberia, and in 1858 the evangelisation of the district extending from Rio Nunez to Cape Palmas was confided to the French Society of African Missions at Lyons, Monsignor de Marion Brésillac being appointed Vicar Apostolic.

In January, 1859, the Lyons Missionaries began to labour in Sierra Leone, but the yellow fever epidemic of that year proved fatal to a great number of the European population of Freetown and the newly-arrived Missionaries, as also the Vicar Apostolic himself. In all, five members of the Society died in June. The mission was then abandoned.

After an interval of four years the Mission* was confided to the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, who had been already established in Senegal. When the Missionaries arrived at Sierra Leone, in February, 1864, there were about seventy Catholics in Freetown. At first a large store was used for Divine Service, and on Christmas Day, 1865, the Catholic Church in Howe-street, Freetown, was solemnly opened. In December, 1866, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny arrived at Freetown, and established a Convent School and Orphanage. The Vicar Apostolic and Missionaries belong to the Irish Province of the Society, and the Sisters of St. Joseph are from Ireland also.

February 28th, 1865, was memorable in the history of the Colony as being the opening day of its first Industrial Exhibition, held in the Market House of Freetown, which proved a great success. It was here, it may be said, that French and English commerce was called upon to pursue a friendly rivalry in the African trade, which has been productive of so much benefit to both countries.

A year previous to the opening of the Exhibition the

* The Very Rev. Father Blanchet, the founder, died at St. Louis, Senegal, 30th July, 1896, in the seventy-first year of his age, and forty-seventh of his apostolic labours in West Africa.

Managing Committee sent out circulars to the native chiefs, informing them that "there was to be a great Show in Freetown of all the good things that Africa could produce, to make the great nations know how rich Africa was, and that it wanted to sell much to nations afar off."

Probably owing to a want of comprehension of the scheme, and the possible benefits that might arise from it, the chiefs gave but little assistance, and but few exhibits came from Gambia, the Gold Coast, Lagos, or the American Negro Settlement of Liberia.

The exhibits consisted of articles of food, animal and vegetable substances used in manufactures, manufactured cotton goods, mats, and work in precious metals and jewellery.

The French Colonies of Senegal and Goree carried off the highest honours. In the English section the foremost exhibitor was Mr. Syble Boyle, who stood unequalled in articles manufactured from vegetable fibres; whilst Mr. Alexander Walker's exhibition of purely African manufactured cotton goods was probably the finest and most extensive ever brought together.

The local Legislature voted a grant of £250 in aid of the expenses, and the receipts from admissions and other sources realised £840, making a total of £1,090. Some thousands of people visited the Exhibition during the thirty days it was open.

To the Rev. R. W. Hartshorn, Colonial Chaplain, belongs the credit of being the first promoter of this important undertaking. He was ably supported by Colonel D'Arcy, the Governor of the Gambia, and Commodore Wilmot, R.N.

In 1863, the Second Ashanti War broke out, caused by the refusal of the Governor of the Gold Coast to surrender to the King of Ashanti two fugitives from his kingdom. In revenge for this refusal the British Protectorate was invaded by an Ashanti force. Reinforcements were sent to the Gold Coast without delay. The British force suffered great loss from sickness, and the Home Government sent out instructions that all operations against the Ashantis were to cease, and the troops to be withdrawn. The guns, ammunition, and stores collected at Prahsu were buried or destroyed in July, 1864, by the troops encamped there.

This abortive expedition provoked so much discussion in England that in October, 1864, the Government sent Colonel H. St. George Ord, of the Royal Engineers, Governor of Bermuda, on a special mission to the Settlements on the West Coast of Africa to inquire and report upon them. Colonel Ord had made two visits previously to the West African Coast, one in 1850, under orders from the War Department, which was chiefly concerned with the defence of the four Settlements; and again in 1855-56, on the part of the Colonial Office, to inquire into the condition of the Gold Coast at that period.

It was pointed out to the Commissioner that these possessions had not been contemplated as places of European settlement in the ordinary meaning of that term, the climate absolutely prohibiting any such idea. What had been intended had been to encourage, by the occupation of detached posts, the legitimate commerce of British merchants, not only for its own sake, but with the object of providing for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade and other inhuman practices unhappily too common among the native tribes.

The principal heads of inquiry to which the Commissioner's attention was directed were the state of the public establishments and their efficiency; the financial condition of the Settlements and their taxation, their revenue, and expenditure; whether their efficiency and economy might not be promoted by establishing a better communication between them, or possibly by some consolidation of the Governments; our relations with the natives, the influence we exercised over them, the negotiations and engagements existing with them, and the subject of their taxation.

Colonel Ord arrived at Sierra Leone in November, 1864, where he remained about ten days. On his return to England he furnished his report. A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed on 21st February, 1865, to report to Parliament upon the state of the Settlements, and the Committee agreed to the following resolutions:—

“That it is not possible to withdraw the British Government wholly or immediately from any settlements or engagements on the West African Coast.

“That all further extension of territory or assumption of government, or new treaties offering any protection to native

tribes, would be inexpedient; and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the governments with a view to our ultimate withdrawal from them, except, probably, Sierra Leone.

"That this policy of non-extension admits of no exception as regards new settlements, but cannot amount to an absolute prohibition of measures which, in peculiar cases, may be necessary for the more efficient and economical administration of the Settlements we already possess."

That such a short-sighted policy has not been carried out must be matter for congratulation to all those concerned to-day, when we see West Africa opening up for commerce in all directions and under all nationalities, to the benefit of both native and European trade.

"That the reasons for the separation of West African Governments in 1842 having ceased to exist, it is desirable that a Central Government over all the four Settlements should be re-established at Sierra Leone with steam communication with each Lieutenant Government."

That the Committee should have so decided proves how little was really known of either the history or locality of the Settlements. This centralisation was a complete mistake from its commencement, for although the other three Settlements had their own Administrators, all the work was subject to the approval of the Governor-in-Chief at Sierra Leone, who could rarely, if ever, be consulted on matters of urgency and importance, and whose own work for Sierra Leone was impeded by the attention he had to bestow on other places, and his visits to them. There is no doubt but that the system hindered progress in all the Settlements, and should never have been adopted at any time nor on any grounds.

The change was, however, effected by a Charter, dated the 19th of February, 1866, which revoked and determined the former Commissions issued in respect of Sierra Leone, the Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Lagos, and constituted on the West Coast of Africa one Government-in-Chief, to be called the Government of the West Africa Settlements, and to comprise the four Settlements named.

It was also provided that the Governor should reside in Sierra Leone, except when the interests of the service might render his presence desirable in any other of the Settlements, and Sierra Leone was to comprise all places between 5th and 12th degrees of North latitude and lying to the westward of the 10th degree of West longitude.

In consequence of the Charter of February, 1866, it became necessary to make new provisions for the administration of justice within the Colony.

Accordingly an Ordinance was passed on 16th November, 1866, establishing a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, and providing that the Assistant Judge of the Supreme Court should be the judge of that court. It gave this court jurisdiction in all personal actions where the debt, damage, or demand claimed was not more than £100, with certain exceptions. The decisions of this court were subject to an appeal to the Supreme Court.

On the same day an Ordinance was passed, enacting that the Supreme Court of the Colony, established by Ordinance of 15th December, 1858, should be called "The Supreme Court of the Settlement of Sierra Leone," that the court should be a Court of Record, and should consist of the Chief Justice and one assistant judge to be appointed. It had jurisdiction over all cases in the same way as the Court of King's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and Probate and Divorce, and had cognisance of all pleas Civil and Criminal.

By these Ordinances, trial by jury is only allowed in criminal cases, and not in civil suits.*

In reference to civil suits, Chief Justice Carr, who had an experience of more than twenty years in the Colony, observed that

"These suits are usually actions arising out of commercial transactions and complicated accounts. The issues raised by the pleadings are oftentimes many and various. The litigating parties, if not on friendly terms with the jurors, are generally well known to them. And the opposing attorneys contending for success and for their costs not infrequently bewilder and distract them by the mass of matter they adduce in evidence, in the hope of influencing them in their verdict. Add to all

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers No. 197 of April, 1867.

this the advocacy of these attorneys without any public opinion to check them in their course, and the jealousies existing between the different races and tribes inhabiting these Settlements, and it is not to be wondered at that verdicts in civil suits on this coast should have given less satisfaction than verdicts in criminal cases. With the right of appeal given by these Ordinances, and the provisions before referred to for taking down the evidence by the officer of the court, I think the decision of civil suits may be safely left to the resident magistrates at the other Settlements, and to the judges of the Supreme Court at Sierra Leone without a jury."

A petition signed by nearly eight hundred inhabitants of the Colony was sent to the Secretary of State, protesting against the confirmation of the Ordinance for the abolition of trial by jury in civil cases, and complaining, among other matters, that "the Ordinance was passed at one reading, and several months back an extensive system of cruelly ill-treating Her Majesty's subjects by kicking, horse-whipping, and subjecting them to other brutal treatments prevailed among many of the high officials of the Colony."

Governor Blackall admitted that the Bill was read three times at one sitting, and did not deny the statement that no public notice of it was given before it was read. While giving a general denial of the charges of general cruelty to the labouring classes which were brought against the public officers of the Colony, and that there was any "brutality" evinced, he admitted that on three occasions Colonial officers forgot themselves, but that great provocation was given; and he himself had witnessed every kind of irritating insult offered to Europeans by natives to endeavour to provoke a blow and a consequent civil action.

The Secretary of State desired the petitioners to be informed that he did not advise Her Majesty to confirm the Ordinance without fully considering the petitions addressed to him, but was convinced that he should not be consulting the true interest of the Colony by maintaining the existing system of trial by jury.

But while arriving at this conclusion on the merits of the law, Lord Carnarvon expressed regret at the manner in which it was passed.

The Governor was also to clearly understand that it is only in cases of unforeseen urgency (a public danger,

such as obviously did not exist in the present case) that he was justified in taking this course.

The greater the powers which are entrusted to the government of a Crown Colony the more imperative it became to avoid any mode of proceeding which had the appearance of taking the community by surprise, and preventing the fair expressions of its objections to any proposed legislation.

In 1866 epidemic fever again prevailed at Sierra Leone. The disease was very fatal, and carried off one hundred Europeans in the six months from April to October.

In 1867, owing to the extension of Freetown by the erection of new buildings and increased population, it became desirable that sanitary regulations should be enforced to prevent the generating and spreading of disease, and a Board of Health established.

To provide the necessary authority for its action, an Ordinance was passed on 30th January, 1867, authorising the Governor to appoint a Board of Health yearly, consisting of the Colonial surgeons and seven other members.

The Board was empowered to make rules for the government and guidance of the Board and its officers; for the healthiness of the city; and for carrying out all sanitary measures.

The Board was also given power to appoint yearly, subject to the Governor's approval, a Sanitary Inspector at a salary not exceeding £150 per annum.

During Governor Blackall's absence from the Colony on leave, in 1865 and 1867, the government was administered by the Officers Commanding the Troops—Colonels Chamberlayne and Yonge, respectively.

In August, 1865, the Acting Governor represented to the Secretary of State the very great advantage which would result to the Colony from the annexation of the territory north of Sierra Leone and the Island of Matagong,* ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of 18th April, 1826. Mr. Cardwell, in his despatch† of 22nd September, 1865, stated, in reply, "That he could not sanction that proceeding; that to revive a treaty which

* By the Convention of 1889, this territory is now within the sphere of French influence.

† *Vide* page 217 and Parliamentary Papers c. 1409 of 1876.

had been inoperative for thirty-eight years appeared hardly fair to the present possessors of the territory, and that, moreover, it was not the policy of Her Majesty's Government to extend the dominion of Great Britain on the West Coast of Africa."

Governor Blackall finally quitted Sierra Leone in February, 1868, and was appointed to the government of Queensland, Australia.

Sir Arthur Kennedy arrived in the Colony, 8th February, 1868, and assumed the government for the second time.

Towards the close of the year 1868, Winwood Reade, African traveller, revisited Sierra Leone, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society. His object was to explore the sources of the Niger, Mr. Andrew Swanzy, a merchant trading with the Gold Coast providing the means.

Sir Arthur Kennedy took great interest in the expedition, assisting it from the public funds and sending letters and government medals to the principal friendly chiefs along the route to Falaba, the capital of the Soolima country.

In January, 1869, the expedition left Freetown by way of Porto Lokkoh, Bokkari, Medina, Small Boumba, Big Boumba, Caballa, and Konkoba, arriving safely at Falaba, where it was welcomed by crowds of people.

Upon learning that the King of Falaba's territory did not extend to the banks of the Niger (about fifty miles off), and that the King was on bad terms with the inhabitants of Dantilla, a town on the road, Mr. Reade decided to stay about a month in Falaba, without mentioning the river, by which time the excitement of his arrival would be over, and he might then more easily obtain permission to go on. Finding, however, that he could not pass Falaba, and being in ill-health, he returned by another route to Sierra Leone, having been absent five months.

The King's envoy to the government having promised that if the Governor would send another whiteman to Falaba in the dry season, he should be allowed to go on to the Niger, Mr. Reade started again in June, 1869, although it was then the rainy season, determined to make the golden district of Bouré, the goal of his journey. This time he was allowed to pass Falaba,

and succeeded in reaching the Niger at Bendugu, but as the source was inaccessible owing to native wars he pushed on to the land of Bouré, and ended his journey at a town called Didi.

In his general remarks upon the country he states that: "We saw gold pits by the side of the path, half filled with water; gold-dust was offered to me for sale in quills plugged with cotton, but I said that I was not permitted to trade; and in fact, had I been a trader the Sangaras would not have allowed me to come on to Bouré."

He adds, there are only five towns in Bouré, but he could not afford to visit the others, his goods being nearly exhausted, and he had no more than enough to pay his way down to the coast.

On the return journey, the traveller crossed the Niger at Farabana, and by way of Falaba arrived at Sierra Leone in October, accompanied by envoys from the principal chiefs.

Mr. Reade furnished a report of his journey to the Government, and he received the thanks of the Legislative Council for the services he had rendered to the Colony in visiting these distant countries, and inducing the chiefs to open up the roads. The Council attached great importance to the maintenance of friendly relations with the natives of the interior, and made provision to defray the expenses of another expedition to Falaba, and for suitable presents also to the chiefs in the Sangara and Falaba countries.

The next mission was sent to Falaba in 1872.

In March, 1866, proposals* were received from the French Government that Her Majesty's Government should cede to France the Settlement and territories belonging to the British Crown on the River Gambia, in return for which France proposed to surrender the French posts of Grand Bassam, Dabon, and Assinie, situated on the Ivory Coast. The ground for making this proposal was stated to be that French trade on the West Coast had of late years increased on that portion of the coast lying between the Senegal and Gambia rivers, whilst British trade, on the other hand, was represented to be increasing to the southward of Sierra

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 444 of August, 1870.

Leone ; and it was suggested, therefore, that an exchange by which France should acquire additional advantages for trading purposes to the north, and Great Britain to the south of Sierra Leone, would be for the mutual advantage of the two countries.

This proposal was submitted for the consideration of the Colonial Department, but before sufficient time had elapsed to enable Her Majesty's Government to ascertain by inquiries on the coast what would be the effect of the proposed exchange, a fresh proposal was received to the effect that the French Settlements on the River Gaboon might possibly be more acceptable to Her Majesty's Government than the Ivory Coast establishments, and proposing, therefore to exchange the Gaboon Settlements against the Gambia.

On mature consideration, however, Her Majesty's Government did not think it advisable to entertain the French proposals, and in May, 1868, the French Government was informed accordingly.

Subsequent events, however, made it advisable for the two Governments to come to an understanding with regard to their territorial interests on the West Coast of Africa. The French had recently established posts immediately to the north of Sierra Leone in the countries watered by the Mellacouri and Fouricaria rivers, and they had also levied duties on British vessels engaged in trade with some of these places. It was pointed out to the French Government that these proceedings were prejudicial to the interests of Sierra Leone, as by the treaties concluded with the chiefs of Fouricaria on the 10th June, 1861, and with the Chiefs of Samo and Morycariah, on the 20th May, 1845, free and unrestricted intercourse for trade and commerce, and for all other legitimate purposes, in and throughout the countries adjacent to and bordering on the Fouricaria and Mellacouri rivers were guaranteed to British subjects in consideration of annual payments made by the British Government.

Governor Kennedy, to whom the papers on the subject had been referred, attached little value, from a British point of view, to any territory lying north of the Rio Pongos, and with regard to the French Settlements south of Sierra Leone, they could never interfere with British interests or commerce, and they would

prove an expensive and unmanageable incumbrance to Great Britain.

He pointed out the advantage which would accrue to our commerce generally, and the prosperity of the Settlement of Sierra Leone in particular, if the Samu and Moriah countries were freed from French domination, and left to manage their own affairs under their existing treaties with Great Britain. If, however, it should be our policy to withdraw protection, he recommended that it should be done without entering into any negotiations whatever with the French Government. Our existing treaties gave us the right of equality of trade, and we should thus escape the odium which, in the estimation of the natives, would undoubtedly attach to us of having betrayed or abandoned them and sold their country.

With a view, therefore, to obviate any further discussions, Her Majesty's Government submitted the following proposals for the consideration of the French Government :—

1.—That Her Majesty's Government (with the consent of Parliament and of the natives) should cede absolutely to the French all its sovereign and territorial rights on the River Gambia, and should not acquire or retain any sovereignty or exercise political influence over any native tribes adjacent to any river in North Africa which falls into the sea to the north of the River Dembia.

2.—That as the claims of the English Government in or in the neighbourhood of the Island of Bulama are contested by the Portuguese, and are now under reference to the United States for arbitration, Her Majesty's Government can only promise to cede to France such rights as they may acquire resulting from the arbitration in question.

3.—That the French Government will not acquire or retain any sovereignty or exercise any political influence in respect to the natives dwelling in the neighbourhood of any branch or tributary of the Dembia river, or of any river falling into the sea between that river and the River Shebar, inclusive.

4.—That this engagement will not prevent either the English Government from enforcing redress for injuries from natives not being subjects of the French Govern-

ment north or east of the River Dembia, provided application for redress is first made ineffectually to the French Government, nor the French Government from enforcing the like redress under the like conditions from natives not being subjects of the English Government to the south and west of the Dembia.

In August, 1870, the French Government were informed that whilst France was at war it would be impossible to proceed with negotiations for a cession of territory, and that Her Majesty's Government must reserve to themselves the liberty, before the renewal* of negotiations, to consider the objections which had been made to the proposed transfer in the Settlement and in England.

On 24th May, 1869, Captain J. J. Kendall, Colonial Secretary, authorised by Governor Kennedy, concluded a treaty of peace with Moosa of Serabon and others, at Mootapen, in the Upper Boom river, by which the parties agreed to abolish the slave trade, to keep the roads open, and to surrender criminals.

During Governor Kennedy's temporary absence from the Colony, August to December, 1869, Captain J. J. Kendall,† Colonial Secretary, administered the government, by virtue of a Personal Commission issued to him, dated 22nd April, 1869.

The claims of Portugal to the Island of Bulama and to a certain portion of territory opposite to that island, on the mainland, having been submitted by Portugal and Great Britain to the arbitration and award of the President of the United States of America, and His Excellency the President having awarded and decided, on 21st April, 1870, that the claims of His Most Faithful Majesty the King of Portugal were proved and established, possession of the island was transferred, on 1st October, 1870, at Beaver's Point, to the Governor-General of the Province of Cape Verde Islands as representative of the Portuguese Government, by Mr. J.

* Negotiations were renewed in 1874.

† Captain Kendall served in the army 1854-63. With the 44th Foot in the Crimea, 1855, and with the 6th Foot in Sikkim. 1861. He also held a command in the army of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico from 1865 until the death of his Majesty by whom he was decorated with the cross of "Guadaloupe" for distinguished service in the field at the battle of "Las Cruces," on which occasion he had two horses shot under him.

Craig Loggie, Civil Commandant of the island, as representative of the British Government.

In June, 1863, a detachment of troops was sent from Freetown to Bulama, and stationed at Dalrymple Bay. The great drawback to Bulama was the want and uncertainty of any communication with it, being out of the ordinary route of mail steamers, men-of-war, or merchant ships.

As the only means of raising a revenue in the island had been by levying customs dues upon certain articles of produce exported therefrom, such as cocoa nuts, ground nuts, palm oil, wax, rice, and hides, an Ordinance passed the Council on 15th August, 1864, legalising the levying of such export duties for a limited period.

Various public buildings and works being much required, an Ordinance was passed on 17th March, 1871, for raising the sum of £60,000 by loan for the construction of public works.

Between 1871-73 £50,000 was raised, to be repaid in twenty-five years. The sum set apart for payment of the Sinking Fund for its redemption, and the high rate of interest on debentures (£6 per cent.), was a great drain on the revenue of the Colony, but the last instalment of the loan was repaid in June, 1898.

During Governor Kennedy's temporary absence from the Colony, April to October, 1871, Captain J. J. Kendall, the Colonial Secretary, and Captain P. Sheppard, Officer Commanding the Troops, respectively, took charge of the government.

The census of the Colony was taken in April, 1871, when the population numbered 37,089, including 107 whites.

In 1872 it was determined to commence forthwith the construction of works for supplying water to the inhabitants of Freetown.

Accordingly, on 4th January, 1872, an Ordinance was passed to enable the Government to make and construct the works necessary for the supply of water.

Following up the Winwood Reade expedition to Falaba, it was decided at this time to open up further friendly intercourse with the natives of the interior. There seems to have been some difficulty about employing a European officer on this mission, and Governor

Kennedy secured the valuable services of Doctor Blyden, a negro of great culture and ability, and an Arabic scholar, as the head of the Expedition.

Dr. Blyden left Freetown on 6th January, 1872, under instructions from Sir A. Kennedy, with his friendly message to the King of Falaba, to assure him of the desire of the Queen's Government to promote the welfare of his country by making the roads safe for travellers and traders, and to take part also in any plans for opening up the country.

It was intended that the expedition should proceed by Porto Lokkoh, but in consequence of the unsettled state of Porto Lokkoh, caused by the sudden death of the Alikarlie, a new route from the town of Kambia, on the Great Skarcies river, was taken, through Basia, Kukumah, Ganjah, Sumatra, Yimbereh, Dubayah, Kamalafi, and Bafudeyah. It arrived safely at Falaba, the capital of the Soolima country, on the fortieth day after leaving Kambia, 20th February. At the towns along the route the expedition was kindly treated, and cola nuts were presented as an expression of welcome to the strangers.

The King of Falaba received the expedition with great kindness. On the first day of its arrival he summoned his troops and principal men, and gave a military review in the Royal Square, and a war-dance was performed. He also presented Dr. Blyden with a gold ring and a few cola nuts as a token of welcome to his town. On the following day the Governor's letter was read to the King, which he received with great joy, saying he was much gratified with receiving such frequent messages from the Queen's Government, and begged to assure the Governor of Sierra Leone that whatever he wished him to do should be done. The King asked that the tent carried by the expedition and erected in the town might be left there, to show the friendly relations between the Queen's Government and himself. This was done, and persons came from all quarters to see it.

After staying nine days at Falaba the expedition left, adopting the Porto Lokkoh route to return to the coast, arriving at Porto Lokkoh on the 23rd March.

The mission was most successful. It visited places

hitherto unknown, and came in contact with many tribes and chiefs who heretofore had not had any direct communication with the Sierra Leone Government, and accurate information was gained concerning the nature of the territories through which Dr. Blyden passed. He was also enabled to offer very important suggestions as to the best methods for cementing our friendship with the powerful chiefs of the interior, and thus opening up the country to commerce by preventing local disturbances on the trade routes inland.

Sir Arthur Kennedy proceeded to England on 17th January, 1872, and was appointed to the government of Hong Kong.

In the short interval between Governor Kennedy's departure from and Governor Hennessey's arrival in the Colony, Captain J. J. Kendall, Colonial Secretary, took charge of the government.

On 29th January, 1872, Administrator Kendall entered into a treaty of cession with the Kings, Chiefs, and people of Quiah, giving back a portion of the territory known as British Quiah, annexed by treaty of 2nd April, 1861; and Bey Cantah, his chiefs, and people were permitted to reside in the retroceded territory during good behaviour. British sovereignty was to continue to be maintained by the Government reserving the right of resumption whenever it thought fit.

It will be remembered that as the outcome of the Songo war, in 1861, the territory referred to was ceded by King Bey Cantah, and the King was not to reside in the Queen's land in Quiah, but live in some other part of his dominions. This retrocession was an act of good-will and favour on the part of the British Government and to prove its friendship for the people of the Quiah country.

On 12th February, 1872, an Ordinance was passed to enable the Government to undertake certain works for the improvement of the harbour and the construction of a wharf at Freetown. This had become necessary owing to the increase in the number of ships calling at the port, and to provide a proper landing-place for cargo, under the supervision of the Customs Department.

Mr. J. Pope Hennessey* arrived in Sierra Leone on 27th February, 1872, and assumed the government.

On 29th February, 1872, an Ordinance respecting inquests by coroners was passed, authorising the Governor to appoint coroners throughout the Colony.

Interspersed among the British Settlements on the Gold Coast there were a number of Dutch forts. This circumstance led to a partition of the coast in 1868, by which the Dutch acquired the country west of the Sweet river, the British that lying to the east. In 1871 the Dutch abandoned to Great Britain the whole of their rights on the coast.

Mr. Pope Hennessey, who had been sent out from England to effect the transfer of the Dutch forts, left Sierra Leone for the Gold Coast, 28th March, 1872, and on April 6th the transfer took place at Elmina. The gold and ivory baton of the illustrious Dutch Admiral de Ruyter, which for upwards of two hundred years had been the symbol of the sovereignty of Holland on the Gold Coast, was handed by Governor Fergusson, the last of his successors, to Governor Pope Hennessey. The Dutch troops garrisoning Elmina and the other forts were relieved by detachments of the 2nd West India Regiment, and after a visit to the Dependency of Lagos, Governor Hennessey left the Gold Coast and returned to Sierra Leone on 21st July, 1872.

This transfer was made with a view to putting an end to the feuds which had long existed between the natives under Dutch and British rule, and to put an end to the frequent difficulties with Ashanti. This end had now been achieved, but not without considerable trouble.

Upon Governor Hennessey's departure for the Leeward Settlements all reports and references were, by a Government notice, to be sent to the Queen's Advocate, Mr. E. G. Alston. No person acted as Administrator until 7th June, 1872, when Captain Kendall, the Colonial Secretary, took charge of the government until the Governor's return to the Colony.

* Mr. Hennessey, born 1834, was member of Parliament for the King's County 1859-65. Called to the Bar at the Inner Temple 1861, Governor of Labuan and Consul-General for Borneo 1867. Employed under the Colonial Office at the Hague respecting the transfer to the British Crown of the Netherlands possessions in Africa.

There were frequent and numerous complaints against the working of the house, land, and road taxes enacted by Ordinances of August, 1854, and December, 1855.

The *house tax* was 5s. annually on houses of the value of £5 and under, and 1s. in the pound on houses over the value of £5.

The *land tax* was 6d. per acre annually on all land under cultivation ;

And the *road tax* was 1s. 6d. per head per annum.

In Colonel Ord's Report of 1865 it is stated that the objections of the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce to the items of taxation were that many defaulters were pecuniarily unable to pay, and their punishment and treatment in the common gaol was identical with the punishments inflicted on criminals who had been tried and convicted of heinous crimes.

Persons who were decrepit and destitute were, however, exempted from the action of this law on application to a magistrate or the local District Commissioner.

Shortly after his arrival in the Colony, Governor Hennessey took in hand this burdensome taxation question, and on 14th March, 1872, an Ordinance was passed repealing the Ordinance of 14th December, 1855, intituled, "An Ordinance for keeping in Repair the Roads and Highways of the Colony."

On 7th August, 1872, an Ordinance was passed repealing the House and Land Tax Ordinance of 8th August, 1854, and in the same month the Market Dues Ordinance of 14th February, 1872, making provision for the management of markets and imposing dues on native produce, was repealed, and the specific duties, as well as the four per cent. *ad valorem* duty on certain articles imported, together with wharfage dues, were abolished.

The substituted tariff consisted of 2s. a gallon on spirits, 4d. a pound on tobacco, 2s. a barrel on gunpowder imported, and $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per bushel on ground nuts exported. All other articles in future were declared free.

In grateful remembrance of the relief of the abolition of these taxes afforded to the poor of the Colony, the date, 22nd August, Pope Hennessey's Day, has been observed as a general holiday in the Colony every year since.

The community remembered Pope Hennessey with gratitude, not only for abolishing the oppressive house and land tax, but also for the part which he took in officially recognising and honouring by his presence the Mohammedan religious ceremonies of Bairam, at Fourah Bay, at a time when the followers of Mohammed had few friends in the Colony. He not only saw the usefulness of these people in the commercial affairs of the Colony, but foresaw their influence upon the future social and religious life of the country.

Previous Governors were, no doubt, sagacious in these matters; they, however, contented themselves by following the Royal Instructions directing them to support measures conducive to the conversion of the native inhabitants to the Christian faith.

Pope Hennessey, the note of whose life was respect for mankind whatever his colour or creed, took a broader view of the office of Administrator, and the habit of his mind enabled him in a marked degree to do right to all manner of people without fear, favour, affection, or ill-will.

The late Sir John's toleration was not forgotten, for when twenty years later the sad intelligence of his death reached Sierra Leone, the day was set apart by the people of the city for general mourning, and the shops, stores, and trading establishments were closed. At the request also of the inhabitants, mainly non-Catholic, a Requiem Mass was celebrated at the Catholic Pro-Cathedral, which was densely crowded. At the termination of the Mass, an oration on his life was delivered at the Wilberforce Memorial Hall.

Doctor Blyden proceeded on a mission from the Government to the King of Timbo, in January, 1873, to impress upon him and all the chiefs the Queen's goodwill towards them, and to invite their help in putting a stop to the war being carried on by the Hooboos in the neighbourhood of Falaba.

Governor Hennessey accompanied the expedition as far as Kambia, on the Great Skarcies river, to consult with the chiefs as to the choice of route. The expedition left Kambia, the Honorable W. Grant, unofficial member of the Legislative Council, accompanying it, and passed through Mellacouri, Moala Lahyah, Sinayah, Turiyah (the first town in Tambaka country), San-

yoyah, Nyegeyah, Jambiloyah (the first Foulah town), crossed the head waters of the Senegal river, passed through the town of Dara, arriving safely at Timbo, the capital of Fulah Djallon on the twenty-first day after leaving Kambia.

It being usual for distinguished personages when going from place to place to be attended by minstrels, called Yellies, who compose songs with musical accompaniment, in honour of the parties they follow, the chiefs at Moala furnished the expedition with a yelly, who accompanied it to Timbo, and enlivened the journey.

Crowds of people welcomed the expedition into the capital, and when Doctor Blyden called upon the King or Almami, and presented the Arabic letter from Governor Hennessey, and the Foulah interpreter handed a letter from the leading Mandingo and Foulah Mohammedans in Freetown, expressing their interests in the objects of the mission, the King said, "Welcome! welcome! that the very subjects which were in the Governor's letter troubled his mind, and were receiving his attention."

At a later time a treaty was entered into with the King, on behalf of the Government, granting him a stipend of one hundred pounds sterling, to be paid in silver coin every year, in return for protection to caravans to Sierra Leone, and protection to British traders and British subjects.

The King invited Doctor Blyden to accompany him to Fugumba, a capital town, fifty miles west of Timbo, where he had an opportunity of seeing an army of between 15,000 and 20,000 Foulahs, collected from various parts of Fulah, for the war against the Hooboos.

Although the town was crowded, and military preparations were carried on, the hours for prayer were not neglected. Five times a day immense crowds gathered at the Mosque, and soldiers, with a musket in one hand and their beads in the other, might be seen going through their prayers.

After a stay of seventeen days in the capital, Doctor Blyden bade the King farewell, and the expedition started on the return journey to the coast, arriving at Kambia on the thirteenth day.

Of the ruler of Fulah Djallon Almami Ibrahama Suri,

who came into power a year previously, Dr. Blyden says that

"His accession has marked a new epoch in the history of the country. He is a man of great intelligence, well versed in Arabic literature, of quiet, but firm temper. He is revolutionising matters for the better; and he does not conceal the scope of his measures. His efforts are now directed to the extinction of brigandage throughout the country. When that has been effected—when, to use his own words, from Sego to Sierra Leone, and from Kankan to the coast, a woman or child may walk unmolested; when fair play has been freely given to individual energy and enterprise—then he will turn his attention to the improvement of the local self-government of the separate diwans in such a manner as shall consist with the maintenance and exaltation of Timbo as the centre of power. Under his enlightened rule, life is held in reverence; property is sacred: robbery committed on the highway is punished with death."

He further says in relation to one of the great objects achieved by his mission:—

"The establishment of relations between the King of Falaba and the King of Timbo is one of the most important events in the modern history of the country, brought about in obedience, on the part of both Sovereigns, to the dictates of the most judicious policy. The greatest pagan chief and the greatest Mohammedan chief on this side of the Niger have united on terms of equality and friendship: so that now that which years of hostile enterprises could not accomplish—viz., the Mohammedanizing of Falaba, may be brought about through the pacific and ordinary channels of political and commercial relations. The stipending of the two Kings by her Majesty's Government, and the slow but sure progress of the freedom of intercourse throughout the country consequent upon this friendly stimulus afforded by the Government, will add to what would be called in Europe the solidarity of interests which must unite Falaba and Timbo for the furtherance of commercial security and prosperity."

On 16th February, 1873, Mr. R. W. Keate* arrived in the Colony, and assumed the government on the following day. On February 21st Mr. Pope Hennessey embarked for England.

* Mr. Keate, born in 1814, was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn 1844. Appointed Civil Commandant at the Seychelles 1849, Lieut. - Governor of Grenada 1853, Governor of Trinidad 1856, and Governor of Natal 1866.

In December, 1872, the Ashanti army marched from Kumassi to invade the British Protectorate, the invasion having been caused by the cession of the Elmina forts and the Elminas having become British subjects.

The Elminas were ripe for rebellion, and their king, who was the sworn ally of King Coffee Kalkalli, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British Government, for which he was arrested and deported to Sierra Leone.

In consequence of the invasion, Governor Keate proceeded to Cape Coast Castle early in March, and a fortnight later, on 17th, he died at that station of fever.

Upon Governor Keate's departure for the Gold Coast, Major A. Bravo, Officer Commanding the Troops, took charge of the government of Sierra Leone.

After the death of Governor Keate, Colonel R. W. Harley, C.B.,* Administrator of the Gold Coast, assumed the government of the West African Settlements, in virtue of a Personal Commission issued to him, dated 21st November, 1872, and held office until Mr. Berkeley's arrival at Sierra Leone. Colonel Harley, however, remained on the Gold Coast during the period referred to.

On 28th August, 1873, Mr. George Berkeley,† Administrator of Lagos, arrived in Sierra Leone, and assumed the government. The administration of affairs on the Gold Coast at this period were confided to Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, who was *en route* to Cape Coast with instructions to take the civil and military command upon arrival there, and to organise a native army to drive the Ashantis out of the Protectorate. In order that Sir Garnet Wolseley should exercise full and uncontrolled authority on the Gold Coast, Governor Berkeley was instructed not to visit that Settlement.

The despatch of British ships with troops and supplies for the Ashanti Expedition brought temporarily to

* Colonel Harley entered the army in 1847, and became Lieut.-Colonel 1865. He served against Indians of Yucutan 1861, and again in 1867, against the Ashantis 1863, defended Lower Combo, Gambia, 1864, and commanded an expedition up the River Gambia.

† Mr. Berkeley, born in 1819, was appointed Colonial Secretary, Honduras, 1845. Administered the government of Dominica 1860-61, Lieut.-Governor of St. Vincent, 1864, Acting Administrator of Lagos, 1872.

Sierra Leone many Europeans, and the enrolling of natives in Freetown for the fight presented an animated scene.

On 4th February, 1874, the British force entered Kumassi, the Ashanti capital, and destroyed it. A treaty of peace was signed by which the King of Ashanti renounced all claims on the Protectorate, and promised to pay an indemnity of fifty thousand ounces of gold.

Reports having reached the Secretary of State that British Sherbro had been much neglected, and that, although large sums had been drawn from it to the benefit of the revenue of Sierra Leone, nothing had been spent in the improvement of the Settlement itself, Governor Berkeley was instructed to inquire into the condition of Sherbro, and report generally upon it, and the means by which it might be improved.

Accordingly, the Governor visited that station in February, 1874. A war having sprung up between the Chiefs of Mongray and the Small Boom, owing to a dispute concerning land, a meeting of the chiefs and headmen of the Boom, Small Boom, Bagru, Imperri, and other countries was held at Bonthe, on 10th February, when a treaty of peace was entered into by which the chiefs agreed to cease from war, and to submit their dispute to the decision of the Governor of Sierra Leone.

A deputation of the mercantile community represented to the Governor the absence of any provision for bonding warehouses; and it was also suggested that the criminal jurisdiction should be extended so as to avoid the expense and delay of a reference in each case to Sierra Leone.

Upon receipt of the Governor's report of his visit, the Secretary of State approved of the steps taken to secure peace among the tribes; the establishment of bonding warehouses; and the extension of the criminal jurisdiction.

In 1874 the Wesleyan High School for Boys was established in Freetown by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, under the management of Rev. J. C. May, for the purpose of affording the youths of Sierra Leone and other West African Settlements a sound literary and commercial education—a scheme which has been productive of very good results.

By a new Charter, dated the 24th July, 1874, so much of the Charter of the 19th February, 1866, was revoked as provided for the government of the Gold Coast and Lagos under the Governor-in-Chief of the West Africa Settlements ; and those Settlements were erected into a distinct government.

Governor Berkeley left the Colony on 14th August, 1874, and was appointed to the Leeward Islands.

A Commission was issued, 22nd January, 1874, appointing the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone to be Administrator of the West Africa Settlements in the absence of the Governor. Accordingly, upon Governor Berkeley's departure, Mr. G. French,* the Chief Justice, took charge of the government, and held office until Mr. Kortright's arrival in February, 1875.

On 17th December, 1874, a further Charter was issued which erected a new government of the " West Africa Settlements," consisting of Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and created a Legislative Council at each Settlement.

* Mr. French was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1844. Appointed Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, 1867.

CHAPTER XIV.

PERIOD 1875 TO 1881.

Mr. C. H. Kortright assumes the Government—Governor visits Sherbro—Lieut.-Governor Rowe assumes the Government—Disturbances in Sherbro—Expeditions to Mongray and Bagru Rivers—Customs Dues at Sherbro—Depressed state of the trade—Exchange of British territory with France—Loan from the Imperial Government—Fourah Bay College reorganised—Mr. H. J. Huggins assumes the Government—Cession of the Samu Bullom Country—Governor Rowe assumes the Government—Purchase of Mr. Heddle's lands—Kikonkeh Island—The Wesleyan Female Educational Institution—Peace Treaty with Sherbro Chiefs—Demonetisation of Dollars—Mr. Montague, Registrar-General—Mr. W. W. Streeten assumes the Government—Mr. Laborde's mission to Mendi Country—Peace Meeting of Chiefs—Dr. Gouldsbury's Expedition—Census of the Colony—Mr. F. F. Pinkett assumes the Government.

MR. C. H. KORTRIGHT,* Administrator of the Gambia, arrived in Sierra Leone, 14th February, 1875, and assumed the government. Early in April he proceeded to Sherbro to endeavour to make arrangements with the neighbouring chiefs for the preservation of peace and the opening up of the rivers for trade.

On 16th April the Governor met the Chiefs at Bendoo. After a long interview they agreed to make peace among themselves, as they were tired of fighting, and on the 19th the Chiefs of the Big Boom signed a treaty for the maintenance of peace and the protection of trade. It was not found possible to make an arrangement for peace between Tom Cabby Smith of Gambia and the Chiefs of Mongray.

In June a band of warmen in the service of the Chiefs of the Mongray country, adjacent to British Sherbro, made a raid upon Mamaih, a town at the entrance of the Jong river, plundered some factories there, and

* Mr. Kortright, born in 1817, held various offices in the West Indies, under the Colonial Government, for a quarter of a century before his appointment to the Gambia in 1873. His appointment late in life to Sierra Leone and his short stay in it, precluded his performing any great services for the Colony.

carried off thirty-three British subjects, chiefly women and children. The rains were so heavy and continuous that it was not considered expedient to send troops for the purpose of exacting by force redress for the outrage committed on British territory, but a large force of armed police, sufficient to prevent a repetition of the outrage, was stationed at Bendoo.

In July, Governor Kortright proceeded to Europe on leave, and upon his departure, Surgeon Major S. Rowe, C.M.G.,* Administrator of the Gambia, assumed the government of Sierra Leone.

Owing to the rains, the Governor was prevented until October from proceeding to the Mongray river to obtain satisfaction for the outrage committed at Mamaih on 9th June.† Meanwhile, thirty-one of the thirty-three captives had been surrendered by Chief Lahai Serrifoo, and sent to their homes.

On 8th October, the Governor, with a subaltern and forty men of the 1st West India Regiment, and some armed police left Freetown in the colonial steamer, "Lady of the Lake." On arrival at Sherbro the troops were landed and housed at Bendoo, there to be available in case of emergency, and the Civil Commandant and fifty policemen embarked in their stead. On the vessel's arrival off Mongray, negotiations were opened with the chief, resulting in the surrender of the remaining captives, and the town's people, begging for mercy, expressing regret at the outrage, and their willingness to pay a fine if time were given them. As, however, the real agents in the raid had already made their escape, and the Mongray people were starving and dying of small-pox in all directions, no indemnity was demanded, and the force returned to Freetown on 24th October.

The troops and police had scarcely returned from the Mongray river when fresh disturbances broke out in another portion of Sherbro, on the Bagru river, the Mendis having plundered and carried captive some

* Lieut.-Governor Rowe, born in 1835, served in the army as surgeon on the West Coast of Africa from 1862, and was employed in civil and medical duties in the colonial service at Lagos and on the Gold Coast before his appointment to the Gambia in 1875. Chief of the staff to Sir John Glover during Ashanti campaign, 1873-74.

† *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 1343 of 1875, and c. 1402 of 1876.

people from villages in British jurisdiction. When reports of the outrage reached Bonthe, the Civil Commandant of Sherbro, Mr. Darnell Davis, accompanied by nineteen armed police, left for Bagru, and landed at Konkonany on 7th of November, 1875, where they were joined by Humpha Rango (Chief of Dodoh) and about a hundred of his followers. On the following day the party proceeded towards Paytaygoomar, a stockaded hamlet. Here they were repulsed, the Commandant being severely wounded, and in the retreat to Konkonany three of the police force were killed.

On 15th November, Lieut.-Governor Rowe left Freetown in the colonial steamer, "Sir Arthur Kennedy," with a force of the 1st West India Regiment, under Captain A. C. Allinson, and some armed police, and on arriving at Sherbro established a camp at Tyama Woroo, in Bagru. The expedition advanced, destroying Gundomar and other stockaded towns *en route*. On arrival at Sennehoo several of the chiefs came there to treat, bringing their captives with them.

On 21st December, 1875, at Sennehoo, and on 30th of same month at Shaingay, treaties were signed by the Chiefs of the Sherbro and Mendi people, agreeing that all disputes should in future be submitted to the arbitration of the Governor of Sierra Leone, that the roads should be free for trade: that all war fences should be broken down: and in return for the assistance rendered by the Queen's Government, and also with a view to reimbursing the government of Sierra Leone for the expenses to which they had been put by the quarrel originating in the Caulker family, the chiefs ceded to her Majesty the right to collect customs dues on the seaboard over which they had authority.

It was provided that the treaty should not be binding until it had received her Majesty's sanction, but the Secretary of State, by his dispatch of 24th September, 1875, although averse to any increase of responsibility in the neighbourhood of British Sherbro, or to any extension of the administrative or judicial functions of Government in that quarter, having authorised the Governor to open negotiations with the Chief Caulker to obtain such an amount of jurisdiction over the Shangai territory as would permit of the Sierra Leone Government placing Customs officers there and collect-

ing duties, the terms of the agreements were duly approved on 22nd February, 1876.

It was accordingly notified by proclamation dated the 27th of March, 1876, that her Majesty's Government accepted the right of collecting duties on the seaboard of the Ribbi, Bompe, and Cockboro country, from the British possessions bordering the Ribbi river on the north, to the Yaltucker river, the boundary of British Bagru on the east.

This tract of country, about forty-five miles of seaboard, over which her Majesty's Government hitherto possessed no rights, was a source of considerable loss to the revenue of Sierra Leone, inasmuch as goods were cleared in large quantities and passed from Freetown to the southward, but no guarantee existed that they were landed in the countries to which they professed to be exported. Practically, it was known that large quantities of dutiable articles found their way into the peninsula of Sierra Leone round Calmont Creek, and probably also other shipments were landed largely in British Sherbro.

Upon the return of the expedition to Freetown, the Governor, at a meeting of the Executive Council gave a detailed account of his proceedings at Sherbro, after which it was moved and carried unanimously : —

"That the warmest thanks of the Council and the Colony generally are due to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor for the most able and efficient manner in which he had conducted the late expedition to Sherbro, terminating in results for the benefit of Sierra Leone, which cannot be too highly estimated."

And

"That his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be requested to forward a copy of these minutes to his lordship the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

Lord Carnarvon, in reply, stated he had received with much satisfaction the expression by the Executive Council of the high sense which they entertained of the value of Lieut.-Governor Rowe's services, and had much pleasure in thanking him in the name of her Majesty's Government, for the energy, promptitude, and skill, with which he undertook and had brought to a successful termination an affair which contained so many elements of difficulty and danger.

Three of the principals in the raid on British Bagru, viz., John Caulker, Kinigbo, and Vannah, were found guilty of the murder of Police-Constable Christian, and sentence of death was passed upon them. The place where Christian was killed is about half way between the villages of Paytayoomar and Konkonany. A part of his skeleton was found and identified by a piece of shirt, attached on which was a patch stitched by the dead man's wife the day before he went there. With the advice and consent of the Executive Council the murderers were executed in a public manner at Bendoo, British Sherbro, on 4th May, 1876.

In September, 1875,* a petition signed by three hundred inhabitants of the Colony was forwarded to the Secretary of State, complaining of the depressed state of trade, and urging the acquisition either by purchase or by treaty engagements of the native dominions from the Skarcies rivers on the north, to the Bagru river on the south of the peninsula of Sierra Leone.

The Secretary of State, in reply, regretted the decline of the trade and the diminution of revenue, but was of opinion that it would not be expedient at the present moment to enter into any negotiations with the Chiefs of the Skarcies district.

With respect to territories lying to the south of Sierra Leone, Lord Carnarvon authorised Governor Rowe to open negotiations for acquiring the right of placing Customs officers there, and collecting duties upon terms similar to those sanctioned in the case of the Shaingay territory.

The principal object of the negotiations which took place in 1868-69, on the subject of the exchange of territories between the British and French Governments on the West Coast of Africa, was the removal of the French from the Mellacouri and other rivers to the north of Sierra Leone.

Subsequent events rendered it necessary to reopen negotiations. As a result of the proclamation issued in 1874, prohibiting the importation of arms, ammunition, and warlike stores everywhere throughout the Gold Coast Colony and protected territories, a very extensive trade in warlike "matériel" was carried on at Assinie

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 1402 of 1875.

and Grand Bassam, the consequences of such a diversion of trade being very disastrous to the financial prosperity of the Gold Coast Colony.

It was advisable, therefore, for her Majesty's Government to obtain, if possible, the power of exercising some control, political and commercial, over those ports west of the present limits of the Gold Coast, through which the diversion of trade took place. Accordingly, it was suggested that the French Government should be invited to reopen negotiations with a view to their retirement from those places, as well as others, in consideration of the exchange of the British Settlement on the Gambia, and in July, 1875, the following memorandum, embodying the terms on which the contemplated exchange of territories might be carried out, was submitted for the approval of the French Government : —

Her Majesty's Government propose to transfer absolutely to the Government of France, in exchange for the territories hereinafter named, all the territory constituting the British Colony of the Gambia with its territorial and Sovereign rights; and her Majesty's Government further undertake not to acquire any possessions, or to exercise any political influence or protection over any tribes or territories, on the West Coast of Africa lying between the northern branch of the River Pongos and the northern limit of the existing French possessions.

The French Government, in return for the foregoing concessions, undertake to transfer to the British Government the French Settlements of Dabon, Grand Bassam, Assinie, and the Establishment in the Mellacouri River, together with all the Sovereign or territorial rights which they may possess over the adjacent territories; and the French Government further agree not to retain or acquire any possessions, or to exercise any political influence or protection over any of the territories or tribes on the West Coast of Africa lying between the northern branch of the River Pongos, on the north, and the French Settlement of the Gaboon, on the south.

The foregoing arrangements will not prevent either the English or French Governments from enforcing redress from natives for any wrongs which British or French subjects may have suffered at their hands in the territories within which either Government has agreed not to acquire possessions nor to exercise any political influence or protection.

A Joint Commission shall be appointed to examine on the spot and to define the limits of the territories to be surrendered on either side, or in which either party undertake not to retain or acquire Sovereign rights or jurisdiction, and to report the value of the public buildings and stores which on either side

may have to be taken over in consequence of the interchange of territories; and the difference in value of the said public buildings and stores will be made good in money to the Government in whose favour the excess of value may be found to exist.

It is further agreed that British subjects in the territories of the Gambia about to be exchanged with France shall enjoy the same facilities, and be placed in the same position in regard to trade, as French subjects; and, on the other hand, French subjects shall, in the territories about to be transferred by France to the British Government, enjoy the same facilities and privileges for trading as British subjects.

The French Government were unwilling, however, to give up that entire and exclusive control of the coast which her Majesty's Government expected, and upon which the articles of agreement were based. The negotiations then ended.

The revenue of the Colony for the years 1873, 1874, and 1875,* fell very short of what it had previously been, owing to the amount of smuggling which was carried on, and to the diversion of trade to the rivers and territories beyond the jurisdiction of the Colonial Government. The current expenses of the Colony were also largely in excess of its resources, and the debt to the Crown agents at the close of the year 1875 amounted to £23,266, on which the Colony paid five per cent. interest.

It was anticipated that one of the results of the proposed exchange of the Gambia with France for the French Settlements on the Ivory Coast and the establishment in the Mellacouri river would be a largely increased revenue to the Colony, thus the means would be supplied from local sources, not only for discharging existing liabilities, but for carrying out works which were urgently necessary, but which had been postponed by reason of the want of funds. The proposed exchange of territory having, however, been abandoned, it became the duty of the government to look into the matter of the deficit with a view of relieving the Colony from its financial difficulties, and Governor Rowe was instructed to consider whether any of the taxes which were taken off by Governor Hennessey in the year 1872, and had not been replaced, could be reimposed with advantage. In

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 1694 of March, 1877.

addition to measures for increasing the revenue, steps were to be taken for reducing the expenditure by retrenchment in the civil establishments for which there appeared to be ample room.

The Governor in submitting the estimates of revenue and expenditure of the Colony for the year 1876, remarked that the fixed salaries to officials could not be immediately changed: the question of an increase of taxation would be gone into at an early opportunity, and that the total decrease in estimated expenditure for 1876 below that estimated in 1875, amounted to £2,140, due to reductions in the staff of the audit and judicial establishments, and the discontinuance of the grants in aid of the native Pastorate, (belonging to the Church of England), and the Roman Catholic mission.

In July and December, 1876,* Lord Carnarvon drew the attention of the Treasury to the financial condition of the Colony, and the necessity of a grant from Imperial funds in aid of the revenue, pointing out that Sierra Leone, like all West African possessions is, and must perforce be, dependent upon Customs duties as the main staple of her revenue: that direct taxation had been tried, but the difficulties of assessment and collection, and the poverty of the greater portion of the inhabitants, rendered any tax of the kind oppressive in its operation and meagre in its results. The sum required for the purpose of meeting existing liabilities and completing the construction of the harbour works was £31,000, and for the purchase of a steamer, and a steam launch, £7,000. A loan of £38,000 from the Imperial Government was granted in 1877.

In 1876, the Church Missionary Society's College at Fourah Bay, Freetown, founded in 1827 as a theological institution, was re-organised upon a new and wider basis for those African youths whose parents were able and willing to give them a more liberal education than they had hitherto been able to obtain without going to England.

The College was affiliated to the University of Durham in May, 1876, upon the same conditions as Codrington College, Barbadoes, by which students would be able without leaving their own country to proceed to the degrees of that University.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 1685, March, 1877.

Governor Kortright returned to the Colony in July, 1876. Upon finally quitting it in March, 1877, on appointment to British Guiana, Lieut.-Governor Rowe was now appointed Governor-in-Chief, and Mr. H. J. Huggins, Chief Justice, assumed the Government and held office until Governor Rowe's return from England.

On 2nd May, 1877, the Samu Bullom* country, from Masserbah creek on the north bank of the Great Skarcies river, on, and up to a place called Kargbang, together with certain islands between the Great Skarcies and Mellacouri rivers were ceded to Great Britain by treaty with the king of that country.

On 2nd September, 1877, Governor Rowe returned to Sierra Leone as Governor-in-Chief, and assumed the government. He took in hand without delay much-needed reforms in the finance of the Colony, and by his careful administration, public expenditure was reduced considerably.

In October, 1878, an Ordinance was passed for securing to Mr. C. W. Heddle, a British merchant who had acquired considerable property during a lengthy residence in Freetown, the sum of £16,000 for certain lands and buildings he agreed to sell to the Government. The property consisted of a wharf, dwelling-house, and huge store-house on the river front, which were required for extending landing facilities for cargo, and increasing the accommodation for bonding goods under the control of the Customs department.

In order to avoid loss to the Customs revenue, and to protect British interests towards the north of the Colony, the Government in 1879 took possession of the Island of Kikonkeh, at the mouth of the Great Skarcies river, and established a Customs station there.

At first there was some opposition on the Island itself to the steps taken for the purpose, but the chiefs in the neighbouring rivers made no objection to what had been done.

Kikonkeh was ceded to her Majesty by treaty of 29th November, 1847.

Efforts were also made in 1879 to open communication with the powerful chiefs beyond the Protectorate

* A portion of this territory is now included within the French sphere of influence. *Vide* agreements between Great Britain and France, 1882 and 1889.

for the purpose of encouraging their people to bring their trade to the Colony. Sir Samuel Rowe addressed letters to them assuring them of the friendship of the English, and it was in reply to one of these communications that Samodu sent messengers to the Government of Sierra Leone for the first time in 1880. Whether this important chief then sought to enter the British Protectorate is not quite clear.

Following up the idea of a superior education for the boys, the success of which had fully vindicated the wisdom of the promoters, in this year was opened the Wesleyan Female Educational Institution, established in Freetown for the purpose of affording a high-class of education to girls in Sierra Leone, and the sister colonies, which has so far proved a success, enabling many who could not be sent to England for that purpose to receive better instruction in their own country.

In 1877 fresh disturbances had broken out in the Sherbro district and the factories in the Boom river were again attacked by Canagboh (Cana Gbboh) and his war-boys. This man was a Lubu warrior from the upper part of the Great Boom river who appears to have always been turbulent. In 1874 he attacked a Government mission engaged in promoting peace at Gangama in the Great Boom river, and captured Mr. Williams, a trader, Police-Constable Acton, and one of Almami Sanusi's chiefs named Foday, for whom he obtained a ransom. The peace negotiations were continued and were so successful that in 1875 Governor Kortright had concluded a treaty with the principal chiefs of the district, and the succession of wars which had disturbed the Sherbro were ended.

Now, however, a new series of tribal disturbances began, which continued to baffle attempts of the Commandant of the Sherbro to put an end to, until December, 1879, when the Chiefs of the Ticonkeh, Bompe, and Lubu districts entered into a treaty of peace at Lemeh jemah, and promised to put an end to the war and endeavour to either catch Canagboh or drive him out of the country.

On the invitation of Governor Rowe, these chiefs, and the chiefs of the Boom and Jong rivers met at Freetown on 6th February, 1880,* and ratified the previous treaty

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3,597, May, 1883.

in the presence of the other important chiefs of the Sherbro district from Bullom and Shebar, Shaingay, and Gallinas.

A change took place at this time, April, 1880, in the coinage used in the Colony. Somewhat curiously for a British Colony, most of the money in circulation up to this time had been of foreign coinage. The British coin imported for the purpose of paying the Imperial troops was either shipped to England or passed into the interior—it was not in circulation, the market being flooded with Spanish, Mexican, and South American dollars, imported by wily traders at less than four shillings the dollar, while the coins were received in payment in the Colony as being of the full value of 4s. 2d. sterling current money of the United Kingdom.

The attention of the Government having been called to this state of affairs, it was considered necessary to demonetise by Ordinance the dollars in circulation in the Colony, and replace them by British money. Some little trouble and expense was incurred in this matter, but there is no doubt it ought to have been done earlier.

In May of this year, Mr. A. Montague, Registrar General, after a residence of twenty-five years in the Colony, left for England, and died three days after his arrival there. In the same year was recorded the deaths of Mr. Pike, late Treasurer, and Mr. John Carr, late Chief Justice of the Colony.

Governor Rowe left for England on 4th May, 1880, receiving a K.C.M.G. as a reward for valuable work he had done on the day of his departure, and was appointed to the Government of the Gold Coast in the following year.

Upon Governor Rowe's departure, Mr. W. W. Streeten, Chief Justice, assumed the Government.

Wars, mainly carried on by Chiefs Gbannah Sehrey and Lahie Bundoo, having been raging for some time in the Quiah country, the Administrator was interceded on their behalf by Bey Mauro and Almami Sanusi, King and Chief of Bullom, to allow them to make peace in his presence. A meeting of native chiefs was accordingly held at the Court Hall, Freetown, on 9th September, 1880, who signed an agreement to make peace, to keep the same, and to submit their disputes in future to the Government of Sierra Leone.

In December, 1880, Mr. Laborde was sent on a 'mission to the Mendi country to visit the various chiefs and to promote the maintenance of peace in the outlying districts.' He passed through Quiah, Sennehoo, and Western Ticonkeh to Tyama, visiting and conferring with each of the chiefs, and thereby prevented an internecine war, which, once commenced, would probably have taken a considerable time to settle.

His return journey was made through the Bompe, Lubu, and Boom countries, and here he discovered that a quarrel was imminent between Seppéh and Gberry, who were old enemies. Seppéh denied that this was the case, and as he was closely watched, nothing untoward occurred until a later period in the year.

Towards the close of the year 1880, Governor Rowe, while in England on leave, brought to the notice of the Secretary of State, that there was then a large balance to the credit of the Gambia Government, and suggested that a part of this money should be used in defraying the cost of a journey (in the neighbourhood of the Upper River) with a view to the obtaining accurate information of the value of the stream as a commercial highway, and the promotion of friendly relations with the chiefs of the neighbourhood.

Sir Samuel Rowe collected information from various sources, and devoted himself to that part of the work of organisation which had to be accomplished in England.

Lord Kimberley approved of the proposed expedition, and the conduct of the mission was confided to Doctor V. S. Gouldsbury, C.M.G., Administrator of the Gambia, who was assisted by Lieutenant Dumbleton, of the Royal Engineers, and Surgeon Browning, Royal Navy.

As only a few carriers could be got at Bathurst, Dr. Gouldsbury went to Sierra Leone early in January, 1881, and engaged sixty-six carriers at Waterloo, near Free-town.

On 22nd January, 1881, the expedition left Bathurst, and proceeded up the river some 400 miles to Yarbuntenda, a small trading post near the town of Cantora, and then journeyed by land to Timbo, where it arrived on 23rd March.

The time for arrival of an expedition was inopportune as the king was at the town of Ningusorie, some

forty miles distant, where troops were assembled for war,* and the whole country was in commotion by reason of the impending hostilities.

Dr. Gouldsbury gives a very interesting description of the town of Timbo and his reception by the king, Almami Ibrahimah Soriah, with whom he concluded a treaty of peace and commerce on 30th March, 1881, at Ningusorie.

After Dr. Gouldsbury's interview with the king, the expedition returned to Timbo for its coastwise march, the Administrator being compelled to abandon all idea of visiting Falaba, or any part of the Soolima country, owing to nearly the whole of the carriers refusing to proceed to that place.

The expedition reached Freetown on the 21st of April, occupying exactly three months from start to finish.

In his general remarks upon the Upper Gambia expedition, Dr. Gouldsbury states in regard to the capabilities and resources of the West Coast of Africa, that Africa, and especially the West Coast of the Continent, is but very meagrely populated, and that where there is an extremely sparse population, without prospect or chance of addition by immigration, no great increase or expansion of trade can arise, even under what otherwise might be the most favourable circumstances. This question of population lies at the very root of any speculation as to much expansion of trade.

In physique the Foulahs are generally tall and spare, and their colour is almost as light as that of a mulatto. They are a polygamous and slave-holding people, but they do not smoke nor drink intoxicating drinks. They, however, use snuff, but not for the purpose of nasal titillation, and the usual mode in which they enjoy it is by chewing it.

On his return, Doctor Gouldsbury offered to go to Falaba alone, and thus complete the original intention of his mission to the interior, but his proposition was not accepted by the Government.

It was to be regretted that he was not permitted to do so, as the French who were actively pushing for-

*It will be remembered that when Professor Blyden visited Timbo in February, 1873, preparations were being made for war-like operations at Fugumba, a capital town fifty miles west of Timbo.

ward their plans for extending their boundary line to the sources of the Niger must have had a mission there about this time, which it was thought might be prejudicial to British influence. It did not prove so, however, and Falaba eventually became a part of the hinterland in the sphere of British protection.

The Secretary of State expressed his approval of the manner in which the expedition was carried out.

A census of the Colony was taken on 3rd of April, 1881, when the population numbered 60,546 (whites 271, blacks 60,275).

163 of the whites were resident, and 108 floating population. Of these 163 were British, 35 French, and the balance comprised eleven Nationalities.

Of Africans and their descendants, 31,201 were males and 29,345 females.

The number of persons professing Christianity was 39,417 (about 65 per cent. of the population). There were Jews 4, Mohammedans 5,178 (about nine per cent. of the community), and Pagans 15,947 (numbering 26 per cent.). Of the Christians, the Episcopalians numbered 18,660, Non-Conformists 20,388, and Roman Catholics 369. The majority of the Episcopalians resided in the districts, owing probably to the fact that the Church Missionaries first commenced their operations in the districts, 1815, whilst the Wesleyans commenced in Freetown, 1811.

Freetown, the capital, contained 21,931 inhabitants and 4,677 dwellings, 152 being built of stone.

As the census taken in 1871 was not altogether reliable and the area on this occasion was larger than in that year, no accurate deductions as to the increase and decrease could be given, but after a careful analysis the officer in charge of the Census estimated the increase during the last decade to be about 5,000.

In May, 1881, Administrator Streeten left the Colony owing to ill health, and upon his departure, Mr. F. F. Pinkett, the Acting Chief Justice, assumed the Government, and held office until Governor Havelock's arrival.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIOD 1881 TO 1885.

Captain Havelock assumes the Government—Detention and deportation of political prisoners—Peace Agreement at Sherbro—Treasury Savings Bank—Liberian Government Claims—Cession of Gallinas territory—Jong River Expedition—Territorial arrangements Great Britain and France—The Education Ordinance—Onitsha Murder Case—Disturbances Sherbro District—Governor Turner's Treaty revived—Mr. F. F. Pinkett assumes the Government—The Sherbro Expedition—Cession of Krim Country—Detention of Political Prisoners—Witch Palaver, Sherbro—Sulymah, Manoh Salijah, and Combrayah declared Customs Ports—Land for Barracks and Rifle Range—Mr. A. M. Tarleton assumes the Government—Governor Havelock quits the Colony—Mr. F. F. Pinkett assumes the Government—War in the Gallinas Country.

Captain A. E. Havelock, C.M.G.,* Chief Commissioner Seychelles, arrived in Sierra Leone on 27th June, 1881, and assumed the Government.

An example of the incalculable value of that daylight which is let into all transactions by the questions put in the House of Commons occurred about this time. On 23rd August, 1881, Mr. Hopwood called attention to the state of affairs at Sierra Leone, where six untried prisoners were being illegally detained in the Freetown gaol, one since the year 1876, one since 1878, one since 1879, and three since 1880, and the Secretary of State was asked whether he would inquire as to the present fate of all these men, with a view to their release, and to order an investigation into the state of the gaol and the frequent flogging alleged to take place there.

The Under Secretary of State replied that the Colonial Office had no information as to three of the prisoners, but would make inquiries about them. Inquiries had already been made with regard to the others, who were State prisoners detained without any clear warrant of

* Captain Havelock, born 1844, served in the army 1862-77. He held office under the Colonial Government as Colonial Secretary, Fiji, and administered the Governments of Nevis, St. Lucia, and Seychelles, prior to his appointment to Sierra Leone.

law, and their release might be shortly expected. An investigation had been ordered, which he trusted would remedy, if it did not remove altogether, the state of affairs, which was a scandal to our administration.

Resulting from the investigation ordered by the Secretary of State, an ordinance was passed in the Legislative Council on 26th October, 1881, authorising the deportation to Lagos of two of the prisoners referred to, and since that date the necessary power for the detention and deportation of political prisoners has been conferred upon the Governor by an Ordinance.

The hostility of the Mendis in the Sherbro district now again began to assert itself, and rumours of fresh agitation in the Boom, Kittam, and Bompe Mendi countries were reported. On 16th November, 1881,* Governor Havelock met the kings and chiefs of Sherbro, and some of the interior Imperri and Mendi chiefs, at Bonthe, and having demonstrated to them the evils and absurdities of their wars, obtained a renewal of their promises made in February, 1880, to bring about peace.

The chiefs promised that on their return to their own countries they would do their best to put a stop to the war going on between Dowah and Mackiah on the one side and Mendigrah on the other, and to prevent war from being taken to the Kittam river by Foro Cojo, a subject of Bargbor, king of the Upper Boom, this war being the entire cause of the unsettled state of the country round the Sherbro.

On 14th July, 1874, an Ordinance had been passed establishing a savings bank at the Post Office, Freetown, under similar regulations to those in force for the savings banks of the United Kingdom. It had been found impossible, however, from various causes to put the Act in operation until now. On January 1st, 1882, the Bank was opened under the management of the Colonial Treasurer. The institution was not at first understood by the people, and the depositors at the end of that year numbered only 44, but its safety and convenience were soon appreciated, and business increased so satisfactorily that in 1890 the depositors numbered 1,120, the amount due to them being £16,485, and in 1900 there was due to depositors £47,837.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3597, May, 1883

During the operations of the Liberian Government against Prince Manoh, in the months of March and April, 1871, the property of certain British traders named Rolle, Job, and Palmer was destroyed at Manoh Salijah on the Manoh river, in the Sherbro district, on account of which they claimed compensation.*

Another British trader, J. M. Harris, also put forward certain pecuniary claims against the Liberian Government for damage and loss said to have been sustained by him through the action of the Liberian Government at various periods between the years 1860 and 1880.

In January, 1882, Governor Havelock was appointed Consul for the Republic of Liberia. Shortly afterwards he proceeded to Monrovia, the capital, and inquired into these claims, and also negotiated the settlement of a conterminous boundary between Sierra Leone and Liberia, which was the point of principal importance to Sierra Leone, as settling the question of the jurisdiction of both countries.

On 30th March, 1882, the portion of Gallinas territory bordering on the Atlantic Ocean for the distance of half a mile from high water mark as far south as the Manoh river, was ceded to Great Britain by treaty† with King Jaiah of Gallinas and the chiefs of Gallinas, Gbemah, and Manoh.

The chiefs had for some time previous expressed themselves as anxious to come under British protection, and her Majesty's Government were induced to accept this offer of cession, not only to secure that this strip of coast should not become a great smuggling channel, whereby the revenue and trade of Sierra Leone would be ruined, but also with a view, by establishing a conterminous boundary with Liberia, to put an end to many long-standing difficulties and complications which endangered good order and peace.

In August, 1881, the chiefs of the Jong country‡ invited the then Civil Commandant of Sherbro to be present at the installation of their new King, and as the

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 5373, June, 1888.

† In 1885 a further agreement defining the boundaries was entered into, and in 1886 the Manoh River was accepted by the Liberian Republic as the boundary line.

‡ *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3420, November, 1882.

Sierra Leone Government was in treaty with these chiefs leave was accordingly given to Mr. Wall to be present on the occasion.

That officer's illness, however, prevented his carrying out the arrangement and the ceremony was postponed.

In April, 1882, the invitation was renewed, and leave was given to the Acting-Commandant to attend, and he was instructed to take with him four or five constables as an escort, and to give presents to the value of ten pounds.

On May 9th, Mr. Laborde proceeded to Mattru, a village on the left bank of the Jong river, about twenty miles from its confluence with the Sherbro river, the place appointed for the meeting. On arriving there he found that the ceremony of installation, fixed for the 27th or 28th April, had been completed, and that most of the chiefs and people had dispersed to their own homes again.

Having heard of the Commandant's arrival, a large number of the chiefs and their followers reassembled at once at Mattru, and on the following day the Acting-Commandant met them to receive an explanation of what he thought was a slight cast upon him.

While the discussion was proceeding, a man stood up and began to make use of defiant gestures and insulting language. Mr. Laborde thereupon appealed to the presiding chief, Beh Kelleh, to call this man to order, but finding that the chief would not move in the matter Mr. Laborde desired one of his escort to bring the man before him to explain his conduct. He had no sooner given this order than a voice shouted : " Fall on them, fall on them." Cutlasses were drawn, and the constables were surrounded. The Commandant ordered his men to fix swords, and thus keeping the assailants at a distance withdrew to the hut occupied by him on the previous night. On going to look for his boatmen he found that the boat had been meanwhile seized, and that its contents, including the presents intended for the new King, had been plundered, and that two of the boatmen had been severely beaten. He contrived, however, to collect his crew, and with them and his escort escaped from Mattru in a boat borrowed from a friendly trader, and eventually arrived in safety at his head-quarters.

There is little doubt but that Mr. Laborde's order to

bring before him the man who was interrupting the proceedings caused the excitement, and the disturbance having once begun, the seizure and plunder of the boat were natural sequences.

When the news of this occurrence reached Freetown, Governor Havelock took the usual steps in like cases to obtain satisfaction, and determined to proceed to the Jong river, accompanied by a gun-boat and a force of Sierra Leone Constabulary, and landed at Mattru with his escort and a rocket-trough.

Before reaching Mattru, the boat which had been seized and a portion of the plundered goods had been given up.

Although the attitude of the various natives was defiant and hostile, the Governor tried a peaceful solution of the difficulty by discussing the matter with the Chiefs, and calling upon them to direct their followers to lay their arms on the ground. The chiefs turned to the line of natives, and appeared to give an order that they should put down their weapons. One or two made a motion as if to lay their swords upon the ground, when suddenly a noise of much talking was heard, and simultaneously a shot was fired from the right flank of the natives which struck one of the Constabulary on the knee. The man called out, "I am hit," and immediately, and without word of command the Constabulary opened fire. The natives replied from the wood, but they soon turned and fled, the casualties on the side of the British being two men wounded. The handle of a sailor's cutlass was broken by a shot. The effect of the breech-loaders could not be seen as the natives were under cover of the wood. Chief Lahsurru was captured and detained.

After setting fire to some huts in the village of Mattru the expedition returned.

This regrettable mishap was due immediately to the mistake of the Acting-Commandant in calling the interrupter before him, and there is little doubt but that the collision with the natives was owing to the lack of discipline in the Constabulary, though they were first fired upon. At the same time it appears clear that the district was then in a disturbed state.

There seems, however, to have been no doubt in Governor Havelock's mind that the chiefs were respon-

sible, and had made extensive preparations to resist punishment for the action of their people in seizing Mr. Laborde's boat and property and beating the crew. A salutary effect was created, however, by the defeat inflicted upon the natives and the capture and detention of Lahsurru who, though professedly a maker of charms and amulets, was really an organiser of plundering raids, and spent most of his time in what is known as "cooking war."

About this time it became absolutely necessary, on account of the desire of the Great Powers to acquire and extend their influence on the West Coast of Africa, that a settlement should be arrived at concerning the French and British boundaries in the countries round Sierra Leone.

The colonial policy of the two countries had been widely different. France had steadily pursued her plan of establishing herself on the Upper Niger by a succession of costly military expeditions, had overcome Almami Ahmadoo, who ruled the north of that river, and had connected his country with the French colony of Senegal by a chain of military posts.

England, on the contrary, had followed a policy of advance by commercial enterprise only, and had in fact discouraged all extension of territory or protectorates, with a view to ultimate withdrawal, leaving the Government in the hands of the natives.

Whether such a policy will ever be carried out remains in the lap of the future, but it is quite certain that Sierra Leone with its limited revenue, barely sufficient for administrative expenditure could have done nothing to extend its borders by military force. Nevertheless it can be seen that we had extended our influence inland for a considerable distance.

But as far back as 1868, frontier difficulties had been developing. In 1870, negotiations began concerning the various French and English settlements on the coast of Africa, but were abandoned owing to the Franco-German war. Renewed in 1876, they again came to nothing, but the difficulties continued, and became so acute that in 1881 an effort was made by Commissioners appointed by both sides, who met in Paris, to arrange the matter.

On the 28th June, 1882, a Convention was concluded,

by which it was agreed that the line of demarcation should be drawn between the basins of the Rivers Skarcies and Mellacouri, in such a manner as to insure to Great Britain the complete control of the Skarcies rivers, and to France the complete control of the Mellacouri river.

The island of Matacong ceded to Great Britain in 1825, was recognised as belonging to France.*

The Convention was subject to ratification. It was, however, never ratified, although accepted by both Powers as a binding arrangement, and negotiations were re-opened in 1888.

The Education question, after lying dormant for five years, was revived in 1881, and in March, 1882, Ordinance No. 3, for the promotion and assistance of education throughout the Settlement, passed the Legislature. By the provisions of the Ordinance, a Government Inspector of Schools was appointed conjointly for the Gold Coast Colony and the West African Settlements; rules and regulations were passed, and a board of members selected, to consist of the Governor, as President, the Official Members of the Council, and Members nominated by the Government. The Rev. M. Sunter, M.A., Government Inspector, concluded his inspection of the elementary schools in September, 1882, and according to that officer's report the number of schools examined was 75; the number of children on the rolls was 8,136, and of these 36 per cent. were examined. As, however, no Government inspection had taken place since 1876, in which year the grants in aid were withdrawn, comparisons could not be given. Subsequently the Inspector held an examination of those desirous of qualifying as schoolmasters, at which some thirty-two persons presented themselves.

On 1st February, 1882, the Colonial Government took over from the Church Missionary Society the Liberated African School at the village of Charlotte in the Mountain District. This school was formed for the teaching of liberated African children brought to the Settlement, and a sum of sixpence per diem for each child was allowed by the Imperial Government for its mainten-

* *Vide* Blue Book Africa No. 7 (1892).

ance. The buildings are the property of the Imperial Government.

One of the most remarkable trials in the history of the Colony, and known as the Onitsha murder case, took place in September this year at the Court Hall in Freetown.

In September, 1880, the Secretary to the Church Missionary Society at Lagos, brought to Lieutenant-Governor Griffith's notice that in the year 1878, W. F. John, an interpreter to the Mission at Onitsha on the river Niger, had flogged and afterwards brutally treated a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, in his service, whom he was said to have ransomed. The girl died the same day.

The man John was arrested in Sierra Leone in February, 1881, and detained.

In May, 1882, Captain Richmond, Assistant-Colonial Secretary, proceeded from Sierra Leone to the Niger for the purpose of arresting and bringing to Freetown another man, Williams, and his wife, charged also with murder, and all the witnesses and evidence required.

A Special Commission under the Great Seal of England was sent out, appointing

The Chief Justice,

The Colonial Secretary,

The Chief Magistrate, Gambia,

and

The Manager of Waterloo District,

to try the case.

After a trial lasting fifteen days, the Jury returned a unanimous verdict of manslaughter against all the prisoners. Two were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment, one to 18½ (he had been already 22 months in gaol), and the fourth to 2 years' imprisonment.

The Commissioners in their report* on the trial stated that though the proceeding by Commission under the Great Seal was the only means of bringing the offenders to justice, still it was a most cumbrous mode and extremely difficult in the working.

In a Settlement like Sierra Leone, if, as in this case, the prisoners came from it, it was almost impossible, from the paucity of the jurymen, and the use of challenges by the prisoners, to avoid having some person

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3430, November, 1882.

or persons on the jury either related or friendly to the prisoners.

They pointed out that the institution of grand jury was abolished in Sierra Leone some years ago on account of its not working properly, yet under the Commission one had to be summoned. This alone was a matter of anxious consideration, for the number of jury-men is very limited, and if the best have to be taken out to form a Grand Jury, the remainder would be less likely to be independent and more apt to be partisans.

As a remedy, the Commissioners suggested that an Act of Parliament should be passed giving jurisdiction to the existing Courts in the West Africa Settlements, rendering Grand Juries unnecessary, or that a Commission should be appointed of a permanent character, with the powers attached to offices, and not to persons.

They also added that the prisoners natives of Sierra Leone should be tried at Lagos or the Gold Coast and *vice versa*.

The Secretary of State, in forwarding to the Foreign Office the Commissioner's remarks as to the necessity for providing a better machinery by which trials of this kind might be conducted, observed that the proposed new Order in Council* for regulating Consular jurisdiction of the West Coast of Africa would, if passed, be more effective than the proposals of the Commissioners.

About the end of June, 1882,† a treaty Chief named Seppah, of Yengema, attacked Bonge, a village belonging to Chief Gberry, also a party to the treaty of peace of 1880, and Gberry having repulsed his assailant, had put his case into the hands of the Acting Civil Commandant, Sherbro.

The Governor, with a view to negotiations for peace between the opposing parties, directed the Acting Commandant to proceed, in company with Chief Gbow and Chief W. E. Tucker, to the Boom river, to inform both parties of the object of their mission, and to offer to settle all questions in dispute by peaceful arbitration.

Accordingly, during the first week of August, Mr. Laborde proceeded up the Great Boom River as far as a

* The Order in Council for extending British Consular jurisdiction on the West Coast of Africa was issued on the 26th March, 1885.

† *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3597, May, 1883.

town called Mobongo, where he found all the Chiefs, with the exception of Seppah and one or two others assembled to confer with him.

The charges made by Seppah against Gberry, of having broken the pledge he had given to the Government by aiding and abetting a certain disturber of the public peace, were investigated and were pronounced unfounded. Several meetings were subsequently held, and it was finally agreed amongst all the Chiefs present that they would combine for the support of Gberry against Seppah. The Commandant thereupon returned to the headquarters of his district.

Finding that there was no hope of an immediate termination of the war, and fearing that it might extend further down the river, where a considerable number of factories, owned by British subjects, were established, a Government Notice was issued on 15th August, 1882, warning merchants and traders that the country adjoining the upper part of the Great Boom was in a disturbed state, and that the Government would not be responsible for any loss, damage, or injury that they might suffer while residing or trading there. Most of the traders upon this withdrew within the limits of British jurisdiction.

As the state of affairs did not improve, the Governor arranged for a public meeting of the Sherbro Chiefs at Bonthe, where he arrived on 16th November.

At the meeting on 17th, the Governor was informed that both parties were growing weary of the war, and an opportunity presenting itself for re-opening negotiations for peace between the opposing parties, he proposed that Chief Gbow and Chief W. E. Tucker should proceed up the Great Boom river and offer once more to arbitrate.

Accordingly, the Acting-Commandant and the Chiefs proceeded to Mocabee, where they arrived on 4th December and entered at once on preliminaries for peace negotiations, but they failed to settle matters.

On 18th November, 1882, a new Agreement* was made with the Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs of Bullom and Shchar for the confirmation of the sovereign rights ceded to Her Majesty by the Treaty of Governor Turner, dated 24th September, 1825.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3597, May, 1883.

The ground for this step had been prepared by the Peace Agreement with Governor Havelock signed by the Sherbro Chiefs at the latter end of 1881.

Governor Havelock went on leave in April, 1883, and during his absence from the Colony, Mr. F. F. Pinkett, Chief Justice, took charge of the Government.

Early in April, 1883, further disturbances* took place in the neighbourhood of the Boom and Kittam rivers.

A Chief or warrior named Gpow, at the head of a large body of marauders, invaded Chief Tucker's territory, took possession of the villages of Semabue, Hahoon, and Whymah, fortified them and made a raid on Cattin.

Gpow and his warriors proceeded further in their outrages, and after stopping canoes at Cattin, proceeded to stop the Constable with the pay of the Sierra Leone Police stationed at Barmany, as he was passing Hahoon creek, and canoes came off with war boys and took the money.

The Corporal in charge at Barmany proceeded to the fence of the village of Hahoon and asked satisfaction, but was received with derision.

When the report of these events reached Freetown, Administrator Pinkett on 12th April proceeded to Sherbro in the Colonial steamer to investigate affairs, taking with him a force of Sierra Leone Police.

On arrival at Bonthe the Administrator learnt that not only had Gpow and his war boys continued their stopping canoes at Hahoon, but that they were impeding the trade from the Kittam river, and menacing our communication with Camalay, our furthest Customs station on that river. The Boom river was also closed to trade, no canoes coming down.

In order therefore to clear both the Boom and Kittam rivers to the furthest extent of our stations, *i.e.*, Barmany on the one and Camalay on the other, the party, in twelve boats, proceeded up the Boom-Kittam river.

At Whymah, Hahoon, and Semabue, the town and fences were burnt, and at Cattin, Subu, and Mattru, the stockades were broken down.

The party returned to Freetown on 20th April, and as the country was now roused against Gpow it was

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3705, August, 1883.

hoped that he would surrender, but this was not realised.

Within less than a month after Administrator Pinkett's departure from Sherbro, there was a renewal of the disturbances* in that district.

Information reached Freetown that a war party had come down the Jong river, had plundered a village within ten minutes' walk of Bendoo, and threatened York Island close to Bonthe.

Accordingly, Administrator Pinkett left Freetown for Bonthe on 16th May with a police force under the command of Captain Jackson, R.A., the Inspector-General, which was reinforced on the 18th by a party of the 2nd West India Regiment commanded by Captain Skelton.

On examination into the state of affairs it was not considered that this force was strong enough; therefore, in compliance with a request from the Administrator for an increase to the military force, the Officer Commanding the Troops, Major T. Talbot, 2nd West India Regiment, proceeded with a party to Sherbro on 22nd May.

Upon arrival at Bonthe the Administrator reported his intention to attack and destroy the Chief Gpow's fortress of Talliah, and that the difficulties of the position had been increased by the injudicious action of Mr. Alldridge, the agent of one of the local firms, in seizing and detaining some natives belonging to the friendly Chief Gberry in spite of the representation of the local police force, who identified them. They were released by the Commandant of Sherbro at once, but not before they had been ill-treated by the natives of York Island.

On 21st May the stockaded town of Momaligi, from which the war party had come which plundered the British village of Mosaipéh in the Bendoo district was attacked and destroyed by the troops and police.

On 23rd the whole force, under command of Major Talbot, left Bonthe for Talliah, the stockaded towns of Cortemahoo and Hahoon were destroyed *en route*.

On the 25th, Talliah was attacked, and after about two hours' resistance the town was captured and set on fire, the rockets and shells demolishing the war fences and huts in a short time.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3765, August, 1883.

The casualties on the British side were two soldiers, one constable, and upwards of thirty of the friendly natives wounded. The loss of the enemy it was impossible to calculate accurately.

The next morning the force returned to Sherbro *en route* to Freetown.

On 29th May, the Administrator returned to Sherbro. He at once called the friendly Chiefs together and reproached them with their inaction in not following up Chief Gpow, who had fled from Talliah, and notwithstanding the Government reward of £50 for his personal apprehension, he contrived to escape.

At Camalay, the Administrator on 5th June concluded an Agreement* with Queen Messah and the Chiefs of the Krim country, by which the whole of that portion of the country held by them was ceded to Great Britain.

The Secretary of State, in congratulating the Administrator on the success of the Expedition, again pointed out the importance of undertaking no hostile operations, except as a measure of defence to repel actual aggression, without first reporting the circumstances and obtaining authority from home.

As a proof of the influence of the British Authorities with the natives in the country adjacent to Sherbro, Administrator Pinkett upon receipt of intelligence from native traders in May that a "Witch palaver" was being held at Bonjaima, in the neighbourhood of the Bagru River, and it was likely that many lives would be sacrificed, at once sent up a letter to the assembled Chiefs, pointing out the folly of such proceedings, and advising them as a friend to put an end to them.

On the 18th June the Administrator received a reply signed by all the Chiefs assembled at Bonjaima, saying that before the arrival of the Government messenger thirty-four persons who had confessed to witchcraft and cannibalism, had already been burnt; but on reading the Administrator's letter they had liberated the rest of the captives, who would otherwise have shared the same fate. The Chiefs promised also to abstain from such practices in future.

Governor Havelock returned to the Colony from leave of absence on 28th August, 1883.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3765, August, 1883.

In consequence of the action of Chief Gpow, Administrator Pinkett caused to be arrested and placed in custody some of Gpow's chief men, and the Secretary of State, in authorising their detention, observed that it was desirable that their ultimate disposal should be deferred until Governor Havelock's return.* Governor Havelock found that an Ordinance had been passed, 18th July, authorising the detention as political prisoners in Freetown Gaol during Her Majesty's pleasure of

Bey Yormah,
Gangarah,
Tongofoorah, and
Langobah,

and of these he was informed that Gangarah had died in the Freetown Gaol in August.

In October, Governor Havelock proceeded to Sherbro in order to make inquiry on the spot respecting the character of the remaining three prisoners. As a result he reported that there were not sufficient grounds for detaining Bey Yormah and Langobah, and the Secretary of State accordingly directed them to be set at liberty.

In the case of Tongofoorah, he was tried before the Supreme Court in November and found guilty of a non-political offence.

On 21st October, 1883, an Agreement was entered into with the Chiefs of the Krim country, by which the whole of that portion of the Krim country held by Zorokong and Fahwoondoo and others, their sub-Chiefs, was ceded to Great Britain in addition to that ceded by Queen Messah.

In consequence of the changes that had taken place, in November, 1883, it was made known by Proclamation that from and after the first day of January, 1884,

Sulymah,
Manoh Salijah, and
Combrayah or Kittam Point

within the Settlement of Sierra Leone would be Customs Ports.

Land being required by the War Department at Kortright Hill and Kennedy Ridge, near Freetown, for the

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper c. 3918, March, 1884.

purpose of constructing barracks and a rifle range upon it, the same was granted by an Ordinance passed on 18th January, 1884.

During Governor Havelock's absence on leave at Madeira, January to March, 1884, Mr. A. M. Tarleton, Acting Chief Justice, took charge of the Government.

Governor Havelock left for England on the 9th of September, 1884, and was appointed to the Government of Trinidad. He worked with great energy for the good of Sierra Leone.

Upon his departure Mr. F. F. Pinkett, Chief Justice, assumed the government and held office until the arrival of Governor Rowe, who had been re-appointed to the Colony after completing his special duties on the Gold Coast.

In 1884* serious attacks were made by Chiefs from the Gallinás country at the head of great numbers of "war boys." The principal characters were Fahwoondoo, on the one side, and Bocarry Governor, on the other, and they both hired Mendis from the Tonghia country to fight for them.

Bocarry Governor was accused of sending his "war boys" to Ghendemah, and that he caused Prince Jiah to be killed, in order that he (Bocarry Governor) might succeed the late Prince Manoh as the head of the Masaquoi.

The villages through which the "war boys" passed were plundered and burnt, the town of Juring was taken, and several people killed. Attacks were made on the British factory on the Manoh River and the French factory at Sulymah, but both were repulsed.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper No. 4642, February, 1886.

CHAPTER XVI.

PERIOD 1885 TO 1888.

Sir Samuel Rowe assumes the Government—Disturbances in the Skarcies—Crowning the Alikarlie of Porto Lokkoh—Visits to Eastern District, Sulymah, Bandasuma—Peace Agreements—The Berlin Act—New Letters Patent—Yonnie Raid and Peace Agreement—Liberian Boundaries Convention—Fortification Lands Ordinance—Mission from Chief Samodu—Chiefs express thanks—Captain Hay assumes the Government—Telegraphic communication with Europe—Peace Agreements—Mission to Bumban-Limbah—Jubilee and Centenary Celebrations—Disturbances in Sulymah and Yonnie Districts—Yonnie Expedition—Customs Duties Ordinances—Mission to Samodu—Liberian Boundaries Settlement—Death of Governor Rowe—Colonel Maltby assumes the Government.

ON the special petition of traders and others, backed up by the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and Liverpool, Sir Samuel Rowe was again appointed Governor of Sierra Leone, and arrived in the Colony on 11th February, 1885, his services being considered absolutely essential to the settlement of various native difficulties which had practically paralysed trade in the Colony.

The members of the "Sierra Leone Association" presented him with an address of welcome, and he was greeted as "the courageous supporter of liberty, virtue, and right: the true benefactor of the African race, and the powerful protector of the loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria."

The state of affairs in the Skarcies River* claimed immediate attention, and Governor Rowe proceeded thither on 21st February and took steps to prevent disturbances. At Kitchum the Governor was informed that the whole of the villages from that place to the northward on the right bank of the river had been overrun; that many of the inhabitants had been killed; and that the troubles existing in the district were part of the feud between the Almami Bokharrie and his nephew,

* *Vide* Parliamentary Paper No. 4642, February, 1886.

the Alikarlie Quiah Foday Dowdah, for the sovereignty of the Susu country.

The King of Moricannia had supported Bokharrie and had in consequence incurred the displeasure of his own people; and Bokharrie himself was a refugee at Kambia (Skarcies River), to which place he had fled. The old chief, Kadiata Modoo, who accompanied him, had been captured and killed with a great deal of cruelty. Kadiata Modoo was a frequent messenger to the Government of Sierra Leone and was much respected. In fact, the whole district between the Skarcies and the Mellacouri Rivers were overrun by the Moricannians and their allies.

The news of Sir Samuel's arrival was spread abroad and had considerable effect in arresting this quarrel for a time.

But matters in other directions required his immediate attention. There were messengers from the Chiefs of Porto Lokkoh* at Freetown awaiting the Governor's arrival, and he was requested to visit that place and instal the Alikarlie, as on various occasions since 1825 the Governors of the Colony had been present at the installation of an Alikarlie.

Accordingly, Sir Samuel Rowe, with a military escort, proceeded to Porto Lokkoh, and on his arrival there, Friday, the 27th February, the ceremony of installing the Alikarlie was carried out. The Governor's first duty on arrival was to present the Alikarlie to his people. This ceremony in Sierra Leone English is called "pulling out the Alikarlie," from the reason that for some days, generally seven, before his installation, he is hidden from his people in the forest adjoining the town. He is supposed to be a stranger to his people, and to have been brought from the Futah† country. His being a stranger represents that he should be free from all personal influence. He takes an oath on accession to office that he will deal justly and impartially with his subjects. This is administered to him by the senior priest of the Mohammedan faith.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 4642, February, 1886.

† The Futah Country is the district of learning to which the Mohammedan families send their youths for education in the schools there.

At a full meeting of the Chiefs, the Governor's attention was called to the movement from the interior, of the Mohammedan war party under Samodu¹, the Chiefs stating that whereas Samodu said he was making the war only to further the progress of Mohammedanism, and to open up the trade routes, his people took whatever they wanted, without respect to any rights of property, and did not hesitate to kill for the sake of plunder. This, notwithstanding the fact that the Porto Lokkoh people were Mohammedans and facilitated the progress of trade in every way.

After visiting Porto Lokkoh the Governor proceeded, by way of Waterloo, to Songo Town, where he met the Queens and Chiefs of the Quiah District,* who expressed their satisfaction at again seeing him and their willingness to do all in their power to carry out his wishes.

At this meeting the Governor was informed that the inhabitants of the villages in the eastern and southern part of the Quiah district bordering the Yonnie territory had all deserted their farms and dwellings owing to the hostile conduct of the Yonnies.

It was stated that Chief Richard Caulker of Bompe had invited this attack on the Yonnies owing to his jealousy of Sorie Kessebeh, and had confessed his treachery. Mr. Peel, Special Service Officer, was at once sent overland by Sennehoo to warn the Chiefs and see Caulker relative to his failure to render assistance at this crisis. He found things in a most unsatisfactory condition, but roused Caulker and his Chiefs to assist in defending the country against the Yonnies, with strict orders to confine all action to their own borders.

The Governor had himself desired to carry out this mission on account of the disturbed state of the Sherbro, but the importance of the trade in the Kittam and Boom Rivers to the revenue of the Colony made it necessary to visit those districts before going to the Ribbi and Bompe.

Towards the end of March, Governor Rowe proceeded to Sherbro and continued his journey to the Sulymah district, where he held palavers with the Chiefs respecting the recent war in the Gallinas country and neigh-

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 4642, February, 1886.

bouring districts, waged by Bocarry Governor, who desired to succeed the late Prince Manoh, and had caused Prince Jiah to be killed to make room for him.

The Governor tried to instil into the minds of the assembled Chiefs, through his interpreters and others, that it was only by a combined effort to come to a general agreement amongst themselves to avoid war, and especially the employment of outsiders to fight for them, that an end could be put to these continual disturbances ; but the Chiefs seemed to consider the subject of runaway slaves and levanting wives of more importance.

However, the prohibition on collecting palm nuts was removed, and this branch of trade was resumed in the towns and villages to the benefit of the inhabitants.

Finding that he could obtain no satisfactory action through the Chiefs on the seaboard, the Governor decided that the most likely way to put an end to the wars would be to communicate with the Chiefs of the up country and get in touch with the tribe inland of the Vei or Gallinas.

For this purpose he proceeded about twenty miles up the Sulymah River to Mannie, a thriving village before the war, but now containing only thirty mud hovels enclosed by a quadruple stockade, the inhabitants numbering 10 men, 25 women, and 7 children, living in a miserable and starving condition, expecting every moment to be carried off and sold as slaves.

From here an attempt to get messengers to Queen Nyarroh, said to be the moving spirit of the disturbances, through Chief Kovah of Fanima, but this failed, and the Governor was asked to send through Bocarry Governor. Mr. Peel and Major Festing, however, entered into communication with the interior chiefs by the Governor's directions.

After some negotiations with Chief Kovah, the most powerful war chief in the Barri country, he consented to the Governor's passing through his town to Banda-suma, to visit Queen Nyarroh. While the Governor's party were engaged in bridging the river at Majemah Falls, Kovah, escorted by about sixty war boys, crossed over to welcome and accompany the Governor to his town, Fanima, an hour's journey from the water, where

the party rested for the night. At the entrance to the town was a large heap of skulls piled together as a trophy of the valour and prowess of the warrior chief.

On the following day the party reached Bendasuma,* the country passed through being in the most wretched condition, and every day during the Governor's stay in that town, bodies of people who had died of starvation had been thrown into the river running by, and in some cases it is feared that people were thrown while yet alive.

After some palavers, and with much difficulty, an agreement was concluded on 1st May, 1885, with Queen Nyarroh, who from the time of hearing of the Governor's arrival in the district had placed herself entirely in his hands irrespective of the other Chiefs: Bocarry Governor, formerly Governor of the Upper Gallinas and other Chiefs promising to abide by the Governor's decision in the matter of the war lately carried on in the Gallinas country, and engaging among other things that: —

- (a) Trade routes to their country should be open to all comers.
- (b) No Purrah or country law or tax would be enforced against the subjects of Her Majesty.
- (c) To permit all Ministers of the Christian religion to reside and exercise their calling.
- (d) And not to enter into any Agreement or Treaty with any foreign government, except with the knowledge and sanction of the Governor of the West African Settlements.

Accompanied by several Chiefs of the Upper Country, the Governor then returned to the coast to hold a meeting at Lavana, on the Lake Casseh, of all the Chiefs who had been opposed to each other in the war, and on May the 16th agreements in the interests of peace and trade were concluded with the Chiefs of the Barri, Sero, Manoh River, Gbemnah, Upper Gallinas, Perry, Lower Gallinas, and Krim countries.

It may be noticed here that it was the unsettled state of affairs at this time, and the impossibility of the Governor being able to traverse the districts personally,

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 4642. February, 1886.

which later on created the office Travelling Commissioners for the outlying districts, Major Festing and Mr. Peel being the first officers employed on this kind of work.

No sooner had Sir Samuel Rowe returned to Freetown than he had again to visit the Skarcies River, where the Susus under Lahai Young had attacked and burnt Kambia, the principal town of the country, in consequence of Tansah Laminah's attack on Mambolo. These quarrels between the Susus and the Timinis, who retook Kambia shortly after, were very complicated, as they involved many Chiefs in the French sphere of influence with whom the Governor had no power to deal.

Following this, an attack was made upon Songo Town in British Quiah (Second Eastern District) by the Yonnies, which gave considerable trouble, as there was still much to do in the direction of settling affairs in the Sherbro and Sulymah districts as well as in the neighbourhood of the Skarcies River.

European Powers had now become very active in relation to the African Continent, and the "Scramble for Africa" may be said to have commenced in earnest about the year 1882, when a Belgian expedition started for the Upper Congo.

At that time Great Britain, France, Portugal, and Spain were the principal Powers which occupied territory in Africa. The attention of all the principal Powers of Europe was then attracted to Africa, and a Conference was held at Berlin at the invitation of the German Government, in November, 1884, to discuss the affairs of that Continent.

The Conference terminated its labours on the 26th February, 1885, on which day the "Berlin Act" was signed.*

The Act contains 38 Articles and it dealt with the following questions:—

Freedom of Trade in the Basin of the Congo.

The Slave Trade, by Sea or Land.

Neutrality of Territories in the Basin of the Congo.

Navigation of the Congo.

Navigation of the Niger.

Rules for future occupations on the coasts of the African Continent.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 4739, June, 1886.

It was declared by Article XXXIV. of Chapter VI. that: —

"Any Power which henceforth takes possession of a tract of land on the coasts of the African Continent outside of its present possessions, or which, being hitherto without such possessions, shall acquire them, as well as the Power which assumes a Protectorate there, shall accompany the respective act with a notification thereof, addressed to the other Signatory Powers of the present Act, in order to enable them, if need be to make good any claims of their own."

New Letters Patent were issued dated 17th June, 1885, constituting the office of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the West Africa Settlements, then comprising the settlements of Sierra Leone and the settlement on the Gambia, providing for the continuance of the government.

In the absence of the Governor all authority was vested in the Lieutenant-Governor, or if there should be no such Lieutenant-Governor, then in such person as might be appointed by Her Majesty to administer the government; and in default of any such appointment in the person for the time being the Administrator of Her Settlement on the Gambia.

Towards the end of November, 1885, information reached the Government from the Manager of the Second Eastern District, that a plundering party had attacked the Government House at Songo Town, had wounded some people, and carried away others.*

A party of constables under Inspector Revington was sent from Freetown to Waterloo without delay, and upon arrival there the Inspector reported that the whole country was in a state of confusion: people running away in all directions for fear of the Yonnies

The Governor shortly afterwards proceeded to Robari and took steps to procure the release of the people carried off by the Yonnies.

Matters appeared so serious that the Home Government sanctioned the employment of the troops if necessary, but Sir Samuel Rowe succeeded in bringing about a settlement of the affair by negotiation, and induced the Chiefs of Yonnie, Masimrah, Quiah, and Bompe,

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 4642, February, 1886.

Sherbro to sign a Peace Agreement at Freetown on 10th May, 1886.*

The Convention† between Her Majesty and the President of the Republic of Liberia for the settlement of certain claims preferred by British subjects against the Republic of Liberia, and for the settlement of the North-Western Boundaries of the Republic was signed at Freetown on November the 11th, 1885.

As before stated, Governor Havelock commenced negotiations for those purposes at Monrovia in 1882.

Sir Samuel Rowe, K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the West Africa Settlements and Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Liberia, was the representative on behalf of Her Majesty; and the Honourable Henry W. Grimes, Counsellor-at-Law, and the Honourable Benjamin Anderson, were the representatives on behalf of the President of the Republic of Liberia.

Under the authority given them they agreed that:—

- Art. 1.* On payment of the sum of £848 19s. 8d., the Liberian Government should be acquitted of all liability on account of claims by British subjects for loss of property at Manoh Salijah in 1871, and also of all liability on account of the claims of J. M. Harris, which claims had, after investigation been decided by Her Majesty's Government, to be inadmissible.
- Art. 2.* The line marking the north-western boundary of the Republic of Liberia commences at the point on the sea coast at which, at low water, the line of the south-eastern or left bank of the Manoh River intersects the general line of the sea coast.
- Art. 3.* The President of Liberia recognises the recent acquisition by Her Majesty's Government of certain portions of territory which make the south-eastern boundary of Her Majesty's possessions continuous with that portion of the line of the north-western boundary of Liberia as described in Article II.
- Art. 4.* Her Majesty's Government engages to pay to the President of the Republic of Liberia 4075 dollars, the amount stated to have been paid at different periods by the Liberian Government for the purchase of the territories of Manoh, Manoh River and Soloma, Manoh Rock, Cassa, Gumbo, and Matru.

* *Vide Parliamentary Papers* c. 4840, June, 1886.

† *Vide Parliamentary Papers* c. 5373, June, 1888.

Art. 5. It was provided that the convention should not be binding on either of the contracting parties until it has been ratified by Her Majesty the Queen and the Senate of the Liberian Republic.

In the Final Report, 1882, of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the defence of British possessions and commerce abroad,* it is stated in reference to Sierra Leone that it is conveniently situated midway between the United Kingdom and the Cape of Good Hope. The harbour is capacious and secure, and should be placed in a state of defence as a coaling and refitting station for Her Majesty's ships and a port of refuge for the commercial marine.

The garrison must be supplied from Her Majesty's forces, but might consist largely of coloured troops, as no assistance in the shape of volunteers or militia can be looked for in the Colony.

The resources of the Settlement are small, and the entire cost of establishing and maintaining the defences must, for the present, fall upon Imperial funds.

Accordingly, in November, 1885, an Ordinance was passed to enable the War Department to acquire certain portions of land in and near Freetown for the purpose of constructing fortifications thereon.

In August, 1885, another mission arrived in Sierra Leone from Chief Samodu, when it would appear that Major Festing was informed by the messengers that their Chief was desirous of placing his country under British protection.

Sir Samuel Rowe does not appear, however, to have considered this statement as anything more than a mere expression of politeness, and he did not report the circumstance until June, 1886, whereas as we now know, in March, 1886, Samodu had placed his country, by treaty, under French protection. Probably his judgment was correct, as the importance of this Chief's friendship to the Colony was great at this time when the Hinterland was being opened up, and the boundaries settled. Moreover, it is justified by the fact that Samodu renewed his alliance with France by further treaties in 1887 and 1889, though later on he repudiated

* Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, July, 1887.

these treaties and wanted to come into the British Protectorate, which he could not then, of course, be permitted to do.

On 14th May, 1886, the Chiefs who were parties to the Peace Agreement dated May the 10th, addressed a letter to the Secretary of State* expressing their thanks for the action taken by Sir Samuel Rowe in endeavouring to persuade them to remain at peace with each other.

The approaching departure of Governor Rowe for England moved the Chiefs in this matter, and we cannot do better than quote their own words:—

“For the last four years our countries and homes have been devastated and destroyed and our lands filled with lamentation and misery, through our own petty wars and dispute: the extent of ruin and the destruction of life and property, and the number of children sold into slavery is truly incalculable. From our tribal pride there is no doubt that these wars would have still been doing their havoc, but for the timely and good interference of the Government of our good friend Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen in this settlement.”

It might be asked why are these wars so frequent, and why do we not make efforts to prevent their recurrence? We beg to explain that they are the effects of an ancient custom in our country, namely, that any person of one country feeling himself seriously aggrieved by any other person of another country, he, the aggrieved, could go to any influential chief of any country “and curse war,” that is invite that chief to bring war and assist him to avenge himself upon his enemies.

Not unfrequently this is done stealthily, which precludes the possibility of prevention: and one fight follows upon another till some powerful friend or circumstance interferes.

Such was the origin and progress of our late war in which our great friend his Excellency Sir Samuel Rowe, K.C.M.G., Governor of this Colony, found us engaged, and we repeat but for his timely intervention no one knows when or where it would have terminated. Excepting those who are acquainted with them no one can form any idea of their complications and the consequent difficulties attending their settlement. They are almost always from little things, but they go on like a wave increasing in magnitude and intricacy in proportion to their duration. This, my Lord, will give you some idea of the task that his Excellency Sir Samuel Rowe has had to encounter in the midst of four distinct tribes and innumerable hostile families. With a courage worthy of his dignity and an indefatigable and

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers, c. 4905, September, 1886.

exceptional zeal, he marched through our battle-fields, exposing himself to all the dangers of our bush wars and the great inconvenience of climate and a wild and swampy country, to our very stockades, and with a tact and wisdom, together with his good words, he at once persuaded us to lay down our arms. He was not satisfied here; when his duties called him back to Freetown, he left an able officer in the person of Major A. M. Festing to go into details and bring us to a temporary peace, and through his kind manner he persuaded us to come to Freetown, where, after a lengthy discussion of our respective grievances, causing the Government a large expenditure for our maintenance, we duly concluded peace and "shook hands" together on Monday, the 10th instant. Knowing the great dilemma from which the English Government, through Sir Samuel, has delivered us, we feel that it would be the height of ingratitude were we to remain silent and return to our homes without making it known.

We are aware that he will report everything to the Queen, but we are sure that he will not tell all the great work he has done for us.

This moves us to approach your Lordship and say that Sir Samuel Rowe, the Governor, has done a great deal of good for us and our country, and that he has proved himself a true representative of the great and good Queen of England and her people, whose humanity, benevolence, and merciful disposition both our fathers, as well as ourselves, have experienced. We desire, therefore, through your Lordship, to offer to our great and most gracious friend Queen Victoria our unbounded humble and hearty thanks for what her representative (our Governor) has done for us and our country, which is a further rope to tie us more firmly to Her Majesty's throne and government. We humbly and respectfully request her as a favour to us to bestow some mark of her favour, however small, on Sir Samuel, our Governor, for his labours and exertions amongst us and the Colony.

It has come to our knowledge that Sir Samuel is about to pay a short visit to England, and it has often happened that governors going on such a visit never return to us. This would be at the present state of our country a great calamity to us and the Colony. We, therefore, pray your Lordship to use your influence with Her Majesty the Queen to restore our Governor back to us that we may enjoy the benefit of his wise counsel and direction if only for the full term of his office.

We humbly pray your Lordship to pardon our liberty in this address, but we are convinced that it is our duty to submit it."

Captain J. S. Hay, Administrator of the Gambia, arrived in Sierra Leone, 14th June, 1886, and upon Governor Rowe's departure for England, 5th July, 1886,

assumed the Government, and held office until that officer's return to the Colony.

In 1886 the cable from St. Vincent to Bathurst, Sierra Leone, and other British possessions south of the Niger's mouth was completed, and the appropriation in aid to the African Direct Telegraph Company was fixed at £5,000 per annum from 4th September, 1886, payable for twenty years while the line is open and working.

The subsidy from the West African Colonies is as follows:—

			£
From Gambia	...	..	500
Sierra Leone	...	...	1,300
Gold Coast	...	...	2,200
Lagos	...	...	1,000

Notwithstanding the efforts made by Governor Rowe and the Peace Agreement signed by the Chiefs, inter-tribal disputes and disturbances continued in the Sherbro, Sulymah, and Yonnie districts.

Towards the end of January, 1887, Administrator Hay proceeded with a military escort to Bonthe, Sherbro, where he held a general meeting* of the Chiefs of the Imperri, the Jong Bargroo, and Sherbro, and impressed upon them the necessity of getting rid of their war boys so as to establish peace.

He then proceeded to Casseh, on the Casseh Lake, where he negotiated with the Chiefs of the Krim, Gallinas, Gbemnah, and Soro countries. These Chiefs entered into an Agreement on 10th February, 1887, to destroy within seven days the war fences at the towns of Pujehoon, Manoh, Bahama, Daneberry, Marimah, Befehoon, and Cohana, and not to re-erect them without the consent of the Government.

The Chiefs also agreed to elect a Headman and Speaker *pro tem* for the town of Ghendema, which was being rebuilt, as these appointments would do much to settle the affairs of the Gallinas country.

It was thought desirable in the early part of the year 1887 that a visit should be paid by a European officer to Samodu, the powerful Chief of the Wassalu district, in his own country, and Major A. M. Festing, Assistant

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 5236, September, 1887.

Colonial Secretary, was chosen as the person best fitted to undertake that duty.*

It was decided that the rainy season was already too near to permit of his making an attempt to reach Samodu without the very gravest risk of his life, but that if the journey were undertaken at once it might be possible to reach Bumban, an important town on the main trade route, the capital of the Biriwa Limba country, whose Chief, Suluku, had always been friendly to the Government of Sierra Leone and anxious to enter into closer relations with us, and that the results likely to be obtained from this journey made it well worth attempting.

Accordingly Major Festing left Freetown the 8th of March *en route* for Bumban, by the Porto Lokkoh trade route, a distance of 79 miles from Porto Lokkoh and on March 27th reached the capital, where the party were met by Chief Suluku, who welcomed and conducted them to the large barrie he had built expressly for their reception.

On April 1st the Grand Palaver came off and occupied some hours. Over 1,200 attended and the assembly was a representative one. Major Festing explained that he was before them as a representative of the Queen of Great Britain, &c., to see that peace was established on all sides. He pointed to the necessity of keeping the various trade routes to Freetown free and open to all; and cautioned his hearers, particularly the Sofas, against drawing the sword to redress their grievances, it being their duty to report any molestation to the Governor of Sierra Leone, who would know how to deal with the matter.

Alfa Mohammadu Siri, Chief of Karene, Suluku, and others responded, and said they were quite satisfied with what had been said to them, after which Major Festing placed the hands of Chiefs Suriwulun, Samodus Agent at Karene, Bonny, Chief of Madina, Alfa Mohammadu Siri, and Sahdigu, of Manjora, severally in Suluku's, desiring that the friendship existing might continue, cemented as it now was by the power of Great Britain. The meeting then broke up.

It was the wish of the Chiefs that Major Festing

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 6687, May, 1892.

would visit Umfa Allieu, Samodu's general at Mafindi Kabaya, in the Kuranko country, but he told them it was impossible: that his orders were to proceed no further, as the rains were on, and a white man could not travel then unless at great danger to his health.

In order to avoid any trouble, and to satisfy the minds of the Sofas, Major Festing addressed a letter to Umfa Allieu, explaining the reason of not being able to visit him, and he took the opportunity of calling upon him to withdraw the Sofas from Bumban Limbah, their presence being considered undesirable. A present of £25 in silver, and a few pieces of baft, were forwarded with the letter by a special Government messenger.

Major Festing was evidently much pleased with both Suluku and his country, and spoke of him in high terms as a humane and wise ruler, and one whose friendship should be cultivated by the Government. His country had been at peace for many years owing to his benign rule, hence its prosperity as compared with the other territories through which the mission had passed.

Major Festing left Bumban on the 8th of April by the Magbelin Trade Route. Umfa Allieu was evidently expecting to see him, as just before leaving Bumban the Major received a present of four cows from him and was informed that relays of cattle and chiefs to meet him had been distributed along the road as far as Falaba.

It was past midnight on April 22nd when the party returned to Freetown, having been away forty-six days.

In his Despatch to the Secretary of State transmitting Major Festing's report of his mission to Bumban Limbah, Governor Rowe states that:—

“Major Festing suffered much from fever, as was to be expected; he suffered very much more than he would otherwise have done, because he needed to leave Freetown so soon after his arrival from England, and before he had passed through that attack of seasoning fever which, according to my experience, all Europeans suffer from shortly after arrival in West Africa, whether they come there for the first time, or whether they have been residents on a former occasion, left, and returned. It was to be expected that to the ordinary effect of the climate on return would be added the extra dose of climatic poison taken

on the journey, and when it is remembered that he was without medicines as well as without medical help, I think he is fortunate to have escaped with his life. I should be exceedingly sorry to have lost him, for he is an officer whose like, during 25 years of African experience, I have not met.

"I have no doubt that much good has been effected by Major Festing's visit. I trust it may be possible to extend it farther after the rains. In any case if we do not wish to lose the good results to be obtained from it, it should be supplemented by the frequent visits of trusted native messengers to Suluku from the Government of Freetown, such as I have been accustomed to send during my administration of the Government."

In June of this year there was a general and loyal celebration of the Jubilee of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The most important event in connection with it was the opening of the Wilberforce Memorial Hall, which, begun in 1864, had now at last been completed.

Early in January, 1887, the Chief of Momaligi arrived in Freetown for the purpose of seeing and reporting personally to the Administrator that the Yonnie Chiefs had shaken hands together in token of the ratification of peace.

Little regard, however, seems to have been paid to Peace Agreements, for in the months that followed, raids, and rumours of raids, were of frequent occurrence in the Sulymah and Yonnie Districts.*

In January it was reported that a raid, headed by one Bangang, a Mendi freelance, had suddenly been made on the town of Ronietto, in the lower part of the Yonnie district, which had been plundered, and most of its inhabitants taken prisoners, whilst several were killed.

In February, the Yonnies, headed by Kondoh, Kongoh, and Kallowah, the same persons who led the raid on Songo Town in 1885, attacked the town of Macourie, about eight miles from Sennehoo.

In April, a raid was made on Sulymah and Manoh Salijah, by a party of war boys said to be under the command of Darwah and Mackiah, and in the attack two persons were killed and some prisoners taken.

In May, a party of Yonnies attacked the town of Tungeah, distant seven miles from Sennehoo, when five

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 5236, September, 1887.

persons were killed, and more than a hundred people taken captives to Ronietto.

The Massimerah district had been attacked by Bangang's war, several towns taken, and the Marampa district threatened.

The war boys were assembling in force at Maremma, a town about fifteen miles from Sulymah.

Several villages in the Shaingay and Cockboro districts had been attacked and plundered by mercenaries said to be employed by W. T. G. Caulker.

In July, rumours were current that it was the intention of Bocarry Governor, aided by other chiefs, to begin a retaliation.

In August, the Chiefs Darwah and Mackiah threatened the destruction of Sulymah, Manoh Salijah, and Lavanah.

An outbreak of fresh disturbances occurred between the Yonnies and the Mendis in the Quiah country.

During these occurrences the Governor-in-Chief was at Bathurst attending to important matters in connection with the Gambia Government, and the Secretary of State had decided that the question of sending an armed expedition to punish the marauding chiefs, must await the consideration and report of Sir Samuel Rowe after his return to Freetown.

Early in October, 1887, news reached Freetown that the Yonnies had made a sudden attack upon Boweah, Sennehoo, and other towns belonging to Madam Yoko, in British jurisdiction, and destroyed them, killing three natives of Sierra Leone and severely wounding one policeman, and that they also threatened to attack the town of Rotifunk in jurisdiction.

The Deputy Governor in reporting* to the Secretary of State on the situation asked for authority to employ troops of the West India Regiment and a Naval force to shell the towns in the Yonnie country. In reply, he was instructed to confine himself to adopting necessary measures for defence of British jurisdiction, and that in the event of offensive measures being decided upon, they would be executed by Officer Commanding Troops according to the directions of the War Office.

The military authorities at the War Office were

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 5358, April, 1888,

strongly of opinion that if the offensive operations were to be undertaken by the military, an officer should be sent out from England for the purpose, and Colonel Sir Francis de Winton, Royal Artillery, was selected for this service.

Colonel de Winton was informed by the War Office that the objects of the expedition were, in the first place, the expulsion of the Yonnies from the territory under British jurisdiction; and, secondly, the infliction upon them of such punishment as may be possible without unduly extending the area of operations, with the view of impressing upon them and the adjoining tribes, that they will not be allowed to invade and ravage British territory and kill or carry off British protected subjects with impunity.

He was to take such a force of troops from Sierra Leone as might be deemed necessary for the purpose, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty had been requested to give instructions for H.M. ships "Acorn" and "Alecto" to be left at Sierra Leone until the termination of the expedition.

On 9th November, 1887, Colonel Sir Francis de Winton arrived at Sierra Leone, accompanied by Major Pigott and Captain Browne, his Staff officers, and on November 13th Major Pigott proceeded to Mafengbeh in charge of a column consisting of five officers and 183 rank and file, one surgeon, and all the carriers engaged in Sierra Leone and the adjacent neighbourhood.

On November 15th, Sir Francis de Winton, with the remainder of the force, left Freetown for Mafengbeh. Captain Hay, the Deputy Governor, also accompanied the expedition to Mafengbeh as Political Officer, arrangements having been made to meet there the Bompe, Ribbi, Mendi, and Quiah Chiefs, who were requested to bring with them a contingent of their war boys to act with the regular troops during the operations.

On the morning of 21st November, 1887, the force advanced for the attack on Robari, the chief war town of the Yonnies. The fighting column consisted of 15 petty officers and bluejackets of H.M. ship "Acorn," under the command of Lieutenant Valentine, R.N., 200 officers and men of the 1st West India Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Nelson, and 45 of the Sierra

Leone Police under the charge of the Deputy Governor, there being no officer available for that duty.

The force met with stubborn resistance on the part of the Yonnies, whose strength was estimated at not less than 1,800 men, but the shells and rockets soon did the work of destruction. Robari was captured in the afternoon and the enemy dispersed.

Notwithstanding the stubborn resistance and superior numbers of the enemy, though no more than 50 were seen, the British casualties during the operations numbered only 13 wounded.

Makunda was captured on 24th November, Ronietto on 25th, and Mafaquiah on 27th.

Sir Samuel Rowe returned to Sierra Leone on 27th November, 1887. He proceeded to Momaligi on 13th December, and was present at the meetings held there on 15th and 16th December of the principal Timini Chiefs.

As the Yonnie tribe had been for some years without a Head Chief, or Bey Sherbro as he is called, the assembled Chiefs were asked, at the first day's palaver, who was the rightful Head Chief of the Yonnie tribe. They replied that two years previous, a Chief named Sey Massa was chosen as Bey Sherbro, but that Condor, and other robber chiefs, had refused to allow his election.

At the palaver on the 16th, the Chiefs were spoken to on matters affecting the country, and were told that they would be required to keep the roads open and in good repair from Rotifunk, Mafengbeh, and Momaligi to Robari; the Ribbi River is to be the boundary between the Quiah and Ribbi districts, the ancient boundaries between the Bompe, Ribbi, and Quiah districts remaining the same as heretofore; and that for their participation in the war against the English the Masimrah people should pay a fine of £200: Bey Simmerah to be taken to Freetown and to remain there until the fine is paid, and Bey Cobolo and the Marampa people would be fined £100.

The question of a paramount Chief for the Yonnie country was also to be considered by the Chiefs.

At the conclusion of the palaver, Bey Simmerah attempted to run away, but was caught and made a prisoner.

Commander of Bowyeah, of the Mendi tribe, was also made a prisoner for having taken away eleven women entrusted to his care.

Governor Rowe left Momaligi on 17th, returning to Freetown by way of Robari; Bey Simmerah, Commander, and seven others were sent to Freetown as prisoners of war and lodged in the gaol there.

At a meeting held at Momaligi on 18th December, the assembled Chiefs of the Yonnie, Masimrah, Marampa, Bompe, Ribbi, Quiah, and Porto Lokkoh districts, elected Chief Bey Massa as the Bey Sherbro of the Yonnies, and on the following day the Chiefs signed an Agreement to keep open the roads to Robari and to pay the fine of £300 inflicted.

On the 19th December, headquarters and the troops marched from Momaligi for Freetown, and all carriers and road cutters, etc., were disbanded on the 21st.

A frontier force of two officers and thirty rank and file were left at Robari, with police at Momaligi and Rokelle to patrol the roads and stop the return of the Yonnie raiders.

Owing to the declension of the revenue* of the Colony for successive years, and for fear that it might continue to fall below the public expenditure, Ordinances were passed on 30th December, 1887, to amend the Harbour Dues and the Customs Duties Ordinances.

These new Acts abolished all tonnage dues and export duties, imposed duties on imported goods most of which had been hitherto free, and levied an *ad valorem* duty of £5 per cent. on articles not liable to specific duty.

Governor Rowe in his Despatch of 13th June, 1887,† forwarding a report of Major Festing's proceedings in the Bumban-Limbah districts, expressed the hope that extended visits on behalf of the Sierra Leone Government would be possible after the rains.

On 21st January, 1888, a mission under the auspices of the Imperial Government, with Major A. M. Festing as its chief, was sent to the Almami Samodu, King of the Sofas, commonly known as the West African Mahdi, having for its object the cultivation of friendship with

* Total duty on exports and imports, *vide Sierra Leone Royal Gazette*, 1888—Year 1885, £45,855; year 1886, £39,555; year 1887, £38,985.

† *Vide Parliamentary Papers* c. 6687, May, 1892.

that potentate, and the development of the trade of the interior countries with the Colony.

He succeeded in reaching the Bambara country, where he found the great Almami engaged in a war with the Bambaras, and had an interview with him.

En route, the Major, on 4th February, 1888, concluded a treaty* of friendship with Suluku, Chief of the Biriwah-Limbah country, whom he had previously visited in 1887.

Major Festing remained some weeks in Herimakono, the frontier town near which Samodu's camp was established, and started to return to Freetown early in July. While returning he was seized with an attack of fever to which he succumbed on 17th August, at Sininkorah, in the Sangara country.

No Report of this journey was made, but in Mr. Garrett's paper, "Sierra Leone and the Interior," read at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, London, 14th March, 1892,† mention is made of Major Festing's visit to Samodu in Wassalu, and of the Almani's feeling reference to the Major's death.

At the time of this and the previous mission of Major Festing, Her Majesty's Government were evidently unaware that the Almami Samodu, by treaties of February and March, 1886, and the 25th of March, 1887, had placed his States under the Protectorate of France. The latter treaty was brought to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government in March, 1888.‡

The expenses of this mission amounted to £1,754, of which £1,300 was defrayed by Parliament and the balance from Colonial funds.

In April, 1888, Governor Rowe proceeded to Liberia in H.M. ship "Royalist," accompanied by the Colonial Secretary and the Clerk of Council, to exchange certificates of the ratification of the Convention entered into at Freetown, November, 1885, in accordance with Article 5 of the Convention.§

* Another treaty was concluded at Freetown on 12th November, 1889, with the Administrator, in place of this

† Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, No. 7, vol. xiv., p. 451.

‡ *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 6701, June, 1892.

§ In the French treaties the name is given Almamy Samory, Emir-el-Moulmenin.

§ *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 5373, June, 1888.

Owing to ill-health, Sir Samuel Rowe was compelled to leave the Colony on 5th August, 1888, for Madeira, and as by Commission dated 15th December, 1887, the Senior Military Officer for the time being was appointed to administer the Government in the absence of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and of J. S. Hay, Esq., C.M.G., Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Maltby, the West India Regiment, Commanding the Troops, assumed the government upon the departure of Governor Rowe, and held office until the arrival of Captain Hay.

The news of Sir Samuel Rowe's death at Madeira on 28th August reached Sierra Leone by telegram same day.

The mournful intelligence was received in the Colony with the deepest regret by all classes of the community, who fully appreciated the loss of one of the most remarkable men who had ever served in West Africa, and one whom it would be almost impossible to replace.

Entering upon his career twenty-six years earlier as a military surgeon, he was associated with Sir John Glover at Lagos, the "Goloba" whose name will live for ages probably amongst the natives of that settlement. Employed at Lagos as colonial surgeon, and as magistrate of an outlying district, he began to obtain that intimate knowledge of native character which was so valuable later on both on the Gold Coast and at Sierra Leone.

Robust in constitution to a most unusual degree, and of equally powerful mind, neither physical nor mental labour wearied him of his task whatever it might be: and whether we see him pushing his way through bush and swamp to perform magisterial duties at Lagos, marshalling and sending forward the forces of Sir John Glover, to whom he was Chief of the Staff in Ashanti: punishing or pacifying inter-tribal quarrels round Sierra Leone, or seated at his desk re-organizing and retrieving the financial position of his Government, we are lost in admiration of the clear mind, decision, and indomitable energy brought to the work.

Opinions may differ as to the man, but we doubt if any difference can, or will, ever exist concerning these matters, nor as to the charm he exercised over the natives and those whom he met in social intercourse. Those who knew the tenderness and skill which he

brought to the bedside of the sick, as a member of the great profession to which he belonged, and of which he was so proud, will bear testimony to his keen sympathy with the sufferings of humanity of which he saw so much, and add some of the brightest laurels to those his career had won for him.

To his work as a servant of the Crown, the Secretary of State for the Colonies bore testimony in the following words, and directed that they should be published for general information:—*

"I take this opportunity of placing on record the sense entertained by Her Majesty's Government of the loss which the public service has sustained by the death of Sir Samuel Rowe, who was one of the most faithful and loyal servants of the Crown.

The whole of his official career was spent in the West African Colonies, and for their improvement and welfare, and that of their inhabitants whose interests he had sincerely at heart, he laboured with earnestness and zeal.

The fatal illness, to which he succumbed, was the result of long exposure to African climate, aggravated, I fear, by his devotion to duty, which impelled him to remain at his post long after he should have sought change and relaxation."

Whilst in 1898, ten years after, Governor Cardew, referring to his efforts to bring about peace amongst the natives of the country round Sierra Leone, remarked: †

"That able and experienced Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, whom the Royal Commissioner so highly and deservedly commends, wore his life out in the Bush striving to attain this end."

* Secretary of State's despatch, Sierra Leone, No. 139, of 10th October, 1888.

† Report on insurrection in Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1898.

CHAPTER XVII.

PERIOD 1888 TO 1891.

Captain Hay assumes the Government—Arrest of Chiefs at Manoh—Capture of Jehomah and Bahama—Colony of Sierra Leone a separate Government—Expedition to Largo and Fanima—Department of Native Affairs instituted—Governor's Tour—Travelling Commissioner appointed—Capture of Wendeh—Government Model School—Treaties of peace and friendship—Colonel Patchett assumes the Government—The French in Samo Country—Major Foster assumes the Government—Territorial arrangements with France—Colonel Maltby assumes the Government—Frontier Police Force established—Local Mail Service—Death of American Missionaries—Second Travelling Commissioner appointed—Commissioners visit the Interior—English intervention in the French Protectorate—The Brussels Conference—The Imperri Country—The Purrah and Man Leopard Societies—Governor's Tour—First Eastern and Mountain Districts merged in Freetown District—Census of the Colony—Governor Hay quits the Colony.

CAPTAIN J. S. HAY, C.M.G.,* Administrator of the Gambia, was appointed Administrator of the West African Settlements, and upon arrival in Sierra Leone, 24th October, 1888, he assumed the Government.

The proceedings† of the Acting Manager, Sulymah District, Mr. Copland Crawford in arresting and confining Chiefs Fahwoondoo and Faugh Patch at Manoh, on the Kittam River, 2nd November, 1888, might have been attended with serious consequences.

Mr. Crawford, a temporary officer, who arrived from England in September, took over charge of the Sulymah District on the 17th of that month, and upon being informed that a meeting of the Chiefs was to be held at Manoh with the object of taking war to the Gbennah land, he sent for the Chiefs to question them. Upon Fahwoondoo's refusal to attend the manager's call, Mr.

* Captain Hay, born in 1839, served in the army 1858-67, and in India during the latter part of the mutiny. He also held office under the Colonial Government on the Gold Coast and at the Mauritius, 1875-85. Administrator of the Gambia 1885. Created C.M.G. 1887.

† *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 5740, June, 1889.

Crawford despatched a serjeant and twelve constables to Fahwoondoo's house, where they arrested the Chief, together with Chief Faugh Patoh. The Chiefs were then handcuffed and gagged and confined in the store room of the Palma Trading Company's factory. They were escorted to Freetown by the first opportunity.

These steps were taken without instructions from the Officer Administering the Government, and resulted in about ten natives being killed and wounded and three constables wounded. Administrator Hay expressed his disapproval of the action taken by the Acting Manager, but deemed it prudent to detain the Chiefs in Freetown, *not as prisoners*, but simply under police surveillance until he should be able to investigate the matter.

It was reported that there were over 300 war boys in the town when the arrests were effected, if so it was no small risk to oppose that number with a dozen armed police. Besides, high-handed proceedings such as the foregoing do not tend to conciliate the chiefs and people under our rule, whether the object aimed at is increased commerce or good government nor to keep the chiefs whom they proposed to attack at peace with their neighbours.

No steps had been taken by the Government to punish Chief Mackiah of Largo, who was the author of the raid on Sulymah in April, 1887, the Secretary of State having decided that the matter should be inquired into upon the return to the Colony of Sir Samuel Rowe, but other important matters claimed attention and prevented his dealing with this outbreak.

Shortly after Administrator Hay's assumption of the Government, he recommended on 12th November, 1888, the despatch of a punitive expedition* against Mackiah.

At this date the Administrator was not aware that only two days previously, Mackiah captured Jehomah, one of Chief Momo Kie Kie's towns on the left bank of the Upper Kittam River.

On 2nd December, the Acting Manager, without orders to assume the offensive, attacked the war boys of Chief Mackiah at Jehomah and captured that place, killing 131 of the war boys and rescuing 522 women and children. The attacking force numbered only 17 men

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 5740, June, 1889.

of the Sierra Leone Police, a small body for offensive operations. One policeman was wounded in the action.

A fortnight later, the Acting Manager, without orders from headquarters, proceeded with a force of police to Bahama, a native town in the McPerri District, in order to punish the war boys of Mendingrah, who took part in the fight at Jehomah. The war boys left Bahama on the advance of the police. The force burnt the houses and war fences and returned to Sulymah.

The Secretary of State recognised the success and efficiency with which Mr. Crawford conducted the operation, although not justified by his instructions in taking the offensive.

By Letters Patent dated 28th November, 1888, Sierra Leone was constituted a distinct Colony, the Gambia being again made a separate Government, and Administrator Hay was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Sierra Leone. He took the oath of office on 22nd December.

The Colony of Sierra Leone was to comprise all places, settlements, and territories which might at any time belong to Her Majesty in Western Africa, between the 5th and 12th degrees of north latitude, and lying to the westward of the 10th degree of west longitude.

Governor Hay having learnt that the disturbances in the Sulymah District were spreading, and that Mackiah had threatened to overrun the Kittam and Boom Districts, decided to proceed to the district to ascertain exactly the situation of affairs.*

He accordingly left Freetown on 22nd December with an escort of the Sierra Leone Police, reaching Casseh on Christmas morning, where he found the Acting Manager with fifty of the police awaiting his arrival. The Acting Manager being of opinion that Largo, Mackiah's chief town, could be taken without meeting with much resistance, the Governor despatched that officer with a force of 75 police to capture the stronghold, unless Mackiah should give signs of his willingness to treat, and to withdraw his war boys and abstain from war. A large contingent of native levies provided by Chiefs Momo Kie Kie, Momo Jah, and Gbanah Gumbo, joined the attacking force.

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers c. 5740, June, 1889.

Early on the morning of 2nd January, 1889, the force marched out of Bandajumah in single file, the column being about threequarters of a mile in length, and entered Mackiah's territory. About noon the police opened fire with rockets upon Fanima, the native levies quickly surrounded the town, and an hour afterwards it was taken and burnt. In the action three constables were wounded, and of the native contingent two were killed and ten wounded.

The enemy's loss could not be accurately ascertained, as the greater part of the town was in flames; 85 bodies, however, were counted, and 668 captives were recovered—principally those taken in 1887 from the Sulymah and Lower Kittam districts.

On the following day (3rd January) Mackiah's capital, Largo, was taken without resistance; the place was found to be abandoned and Mackiah escaped. Mackiah having been subsequently apprehended, was brought to Freetown and deported to the Gold Coast as a political prisoner.

Chief Gbanah Gumbo, of Sahu, who with 400 war boys assisted the police in the advance upon Fanima, was arrested on 17th January for sending a war party to loot Samah, a town in the Luhu country. While being taken prisoner to Freetown, the police tied him with rope in a manner which induced blood poisoning, from the effects of which he died in the Gaol hospital.

Governor Hay was occupied in interviewing the Chiefs and making arrangements to restore order in the District until 24th January, when he returned to Freetown.

At the beginning of this year the Aborigines department was separated from the Colonial Secretariat, and brought under the Governor's Office as the Department of Native Affairs.

Governor Hay left Freetown 14th February, 1889, on a tour to the Northern and South-Eastern Districts of the Colony.

Upon the return from leave of absence, in March, 1889, of Mr. G. H. Garrett, Sub-Treasurer and Collector of Sherbro, he was appointed to be a Travelling Commissioner for the Colony, and to take charge of the stations south-east extending from Lavanah to Manoh Salijah and the districts lying between the Great Boom and Manoh Rivers.

This was a new office, established no doubt owing to the success of Major Festing and Mr. Peel, and the duties of which required that the officer should travel from place to place to see that the roads were kept open for trade. He was also to arrange and adjust inter-tribal disputes with the native Chiefs and make treaties of peace and friendship on behalf of the Government with them, as well as to open up friendly relations with Chiefs of the Hinterland.

While at Bandajumah, in the Kittam District, the Governor directed Mr. Garrett to proceed with an escort of police to Wendeh, the capital of the notorious free-booter Darwah, to break up the war parties there who disturbed the peace of the country.*

On 22nd March, Wendeh, consisting of thirteen towns, was burnt and the war boys dispersed, many being killed or wounded, while there were no casualties on the side of the British. By this action, over 3,000 people who were dying of starvation in the place were released and restored to their homes.

At the end of March, 1889, the Government Model School, Oxford Street, Freetown, the only Government school in the Colony, was permanently closed.

From the early days of the Colony, a school supported as a Government establishment had been uninterruptedly conducted in several buildings in the city up to the time it was closed. In this establishment, known in turn as the Government Day School, Model School, and Practising School, many prominent citizens were first taught the "three R's." After the introduction in 1882 of the system of annually inspecting and awarding grants in aid of the elementary schools of the Colony, owned by the various religious denominations, the attendance at the Government school dwindled.

The headmaster and mistress retired on pension, and the remaining school staff transferred to other departments, one of the female teachers being appointed to a clerkship in the Post Office, Freetown. This was the first occasion of the employment of female clerks in the Government offices of the Colony.

The Governor returned to Freetown on 13th April, after an absence of two months from the seat of govern-

* *Vide Parliamentary Papers c. 5740, June, 1889.*

ment, having traversed during this tour nearly 300 miles by land and 250 miles by water.

During the period February to April, 1889, the Government concluded treaties of peace and friendship with native Chiefs as follows: —

Almami Suman, King of Bafooria ;

Bambah, Chief of Sayumyah ;

Almami Foday, Chief of Tamisoe ;

Wenday Modoo, Chief of Konimackah ;

Bassie, Chief of Kukunah ;

Mackavorch, Chief of Tikonko ;

Chiefs of Kpa Mendis, Bompe, Sherbro, Timinis, and Quiah ;

Chief Kallikolleh of the Tambakka country.

Governor Hay proceeded on leave of absence 27th April, 1889, and while in England was invested by Her Majesty with the insignia of a K.C.M.G.

Upon Governor Hay's departure, Lieut.-Col. W. G. Patchett, West India Regiment, Officer Commanding the Troops, assumed the Government.

In March, 1889, the French Commandant at Benty attempted to establish a Customs House in the Samo country, to the north of Sierra Leone.*

The ruler of the country, Bey Sherbro, who apparently knew nothing about the race for African territory, or Anglo-French agreements, but whose predecessor had by treaties in May, 1845, November, 1847, and May, 1877, placed the Samo country under British protection, resisted this attempt, and the Commandant was taken prisoner and by the Bey's authority handed over to the nearest British officer, who was stationed at Kikonkeh in the Great Skarcies River.

Upon news of this arrest reaching the Sierra Leone Government, the Commandant was released and conveyed in the Colonial steamer to Freetown, and he soon left the Colony.

The arrest of the Commandant furnished the plea for the destruction by the French, two months later, of some towns and villages in the Samo country, when the

* As according to the Anglo-French Convention of 1889, the portion of the Samo country invaded, fell within the sphere of French influence, we may conclude that the proceedings of the French authorities were in order.

property of British traders was destroyed and the Chief driven into exile.

The Administrator, Colonel Patchett, left Freetown in a man-of-war for the Northern rivers, and landed at Kitchum on 5th May to ascertain the state of affairs, but no further action was then taken.

On 25th May, 1889, the Government concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with Nyahgwah, Chief of the Bambara country.

Owing to ill-health, Colonel Patchett left the Colony 10th July, 1899, and upon his departure, Major S. F. Foster, West India Regiment, Officer Commanding the Troops, assumed the Government.

In 1888, it became evident that the territorial limits to the north of Sierra Leone, settled between Great Britain and France in June, 1882, were insufficient, and negotiations were commenced which resulted in the Agreement signed at Paris on 10th August, 1889, by which the line of demarcation, after having divided the basin of the Mellacouri (Melakori) from that of the Great Skarcies, should pass between Benna and Tam-bakka, leaving Talla to England and Tamisso to France, and should approach the tenth degree of North latitude, including in the French zone the country of the Houbous, and in the English zone Soulimaniah and Falaba; and that the line should stop at the intersection of the thirteenth degree of longitude west of Paris ($10^{\circ} 40'$ of Greenwich) as marked on the French map, and of the tenth degree of latitude.*

It was to be understood that the line of demarcation should be determined on the spot by English and French delegates named for the purpose, and that these delegates should mutually endeavour to find means of assuring to France a route of communication to the south of Fouta Djallon (Futah Jallon) between Mellacouri (Melakori) and the French Soudan, which should, however, in no way interfere with the possession by England of the road between Kambia and Falaba and which should in principle be identical with the route followed by Blyden in 1872 to the latter place.

By this document the boundaries of Sierra Leone were settled and disputed points arranged by mutual con-

* *Vide* Blue Book Africa No. 7, of 1892.

cession. Provision was made for a Commission to settle boundaries not yet defined, as the 1882 Convention had not been carried out in this respect.

But this agreement attempted also to close at one point an interior frontier. The position of Sierra Leone had become precarious owing to the action of the great Mussulman Chief, Samodu, who had ceded his territories to France and was at war with that country for non-fulfilment of his treaties. It became necessary, therefore, to protect the Colony from aggression, and France, whose treaty rights gave her the power to stipulate on behalf of Samodu, was required by the British Government to acknowledge the independent provinces of Soulimaniah and Falaba as within the sphere of British influence, though claimed by Samodu as dependencies.

Later on it was found that this agreement was not satisfactory, and the province of Kuranko, which was also claimed by Samodu, but declared by the British Government to be independent, was placed within the British sphere in 1891, and the interior frontier was completed.

Owing to the disturbed state of affairs in the Tonko Limbah country, the Administrator visited the Skarcies district and Porto Lokkoh in October and November, 1889, to arrange and adjust disputes between some of the rival native chiefs, and during this visit the Government concluded treaties of peace and friendship with the following Chiefs:—

Almami Bombah Lahai, King of the Tonko Limbah country;

Bey Symrah of Kayimbo;

Amadu Suluku, King of the Biriwah Limbah country.

Lieut.-Colonel J. M. Maltby, West India Regiment, upon arrival in Sierra Leone, 20th November, 1889, as Officer Commanding the Troops, assumed the Government.

Upon conclusion of the Yonnie expedition in 1887, Colonel Sir Francis de Winton recommended the establishment of a frontier police force and the occupation of certain advanced posts beyond the border line of the Colony, as the only means of securing peace and tranquillity along the frontier, and he also considered that such an occupation would strengthen the Colony in the

event of invasion from the interior. The then Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, concurred in the recommendation, and after his death it was carried into effect by his successor.

On 15th January, 1890, the Ordinance to establish a Frontier Police Force for service both within and without the Colony was passed in the Legislative Council. The force was to consist of one Inspector-General, three Inspectors, four native Sub-Inspectors, and 280 Sub-Officers and Privates.

The best men serving at that time in the Civil Police Force elected for frontier work, and the enlistment of recruits went on so rapidly—every tribe and every language being represented—that in a short time the force was duly organised.

The uniform of blue serge, consisting of a light jumper, and short knickerbockers and a red fez is eminently soldierlike and serviceable, costing only 23s. Black leather belts and accoutrements, a Snider rifle and sword, a rolled blanket and a haversack, complete the equipment. With these the frontier policeman is actually independent.

The nature of the work performed on the frontier makes it absolutely necessary that the kit should be of the simplest description. Fording rivers, splashing through long wet marshes, cutting paths through the bush, long forced marches under a blazing sun, the hurried rush all through the night to gain some town, is not work that could be done in a tightly-buttoned jacket, a perfectly pipe-clayed belt, or brightly polished boots. The simple habits of life of the Frontier Police, their great powers of endurance, courage in the field, and the absolute obedience they render, makes them a force capable of doing good work.

When the Frontier Force was organised, detachments were stationed along the road from Kambia on the Skarcies River in the north, to the Manoh River in the south-east, a distance of about 200 miles, and their presence had a good effect in securing peace, and the safe transit of produce to the various markets.

An Ordinance was also passed to establish and regulate an Inland Colonial Post Office in the Colony, and a contract was entered into for a weekly mail service between Freetown and Sherbro by steamers, instead of by small boat.

A small party of American missionaries arrived in the Colony in the early part of the year, with the view of proceeding due east into the interior for evangelising purposes. They tried to live in Freetown as the natives do, and being believers in the faith-healing doctrine, they objected to medical treatment. It was only to be expected, therefore, that they would be struck down with fever, and in less than a month after arrival, three of them died.

On 13th February, 1890, Governor Hay returned to the Colony from leave of absence, and shortly afterwards he visited Sherbro, Porto Lokkoh, and the Great Skarcies Districts.

Early in March, 1890, Mr. T. J. Alldridge, who had been appointed a Travelling Commissioner for the Colony left the Sherbro District on a journey to the interior, returning to Sulymah at the end of the following month. *En route* he concluded treaties of peace and friendship on behalf of the Government with native chiefs at:

Bandasuma, in Barri country ;
Gigbama, in Tonchia ;
Juro, in Goura country ;
Yandahoo, in Jaweh country ;
Byemah, in Mando country ;
Kangarmah, in Bambara ;
Couray Lahoon ;
Pendeboo, in Damah country ;
Borgbarboo, in Koyah country.

In March, 1890, Travelling Commissioner Garrett also left for the interior by way of Porto Lokkoh, returning to Freetown early in July following. He was directed to visit Samodu and succeeded in doing so, and it was through his instrumentality that the Sofa warriors who had already carried fire and sword through the Sangara, Soolima, and Kuranko countries, were induced to stop their onward march. They said that all they wanted was a free trade to the coast, but that their people were continually being stopped. The Commissioner assured them of the fact that the Sierra Leone Government was doing its best to secure this, as his presence there proved, and that they would find no difficulties in their way if they came down peaceably.

In June, 1890, the French Ambassador brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government* that an English column from Soulimaniah had crossed the Niger at Farana, making for Bissandugu, the capital of Samodu States, and pointing out that these States had been placed under the Protectorate of France by treaties, and that the French could not admit any foreign intervention in the States under their Protectorate.

We have not been able to trace the reply to this communication (it has apparently not been published), and can only conclude that the English column referred to was Mr. Commissioner Garrett's party† that had been travelling in the interior from March to July, 1890.

In the treaty concluded between the Government of the French Republic and the Almami Samodu on 21st February, 1889, at Niakha, it was agreed that the River Niger was to be the line of demarcation and frontier between the French possessions in the Soudan and the States of the Almami Samodu, and that in no case should the troops of one of the high contracting parties be allowed to cross the Niger without the authority of the other.

Early in 1890 another Conference between the representatives of the European Powers was held at Brussels.

This Conference dealt mainly with the question of the African slave trade, and on 2nd July, 1890, the plenipotentiaries signed the "Brussels Act."

The Act contains 100 articles, but only Chapter I. of the provisions adopted are here given, as showing the trend of the propositions agreed to.

Art. I. The Powers declare that the most effective means for counteracting the Slave Trade in the interior of Africa are the following:—

1. Progressive organization of the administrative, judicial, religious, and military services in the African territories placed under the sovereignty or protectorate of civilized nations.
2. The gradual establishment in the interior, by the responsible Power in each territory of strongly occupied stations, in such a way as to make their protective or repressive action effectively felt in the territories devastated by man-hunts.
3. The construction of roads, and in particular of railways,

* *Vide* Parliamentary Papers Africa No. 7, of 1892.

† *Vide* Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings. July, 1892.

connecting the advanced stations with the coast, and permitting easy access to the inland waters, and to the upper reaches of streams and rivers which are broken by rapids and cataracts, so as to substitute economical and speedy means of transport for the present means of portage by men.

4. Establishment of steam-boats on the inland navigable waters and on the lakes, supported by fortified posts established on the banks.

5. Establishment of telegraphic lines assuring the communication of the ports and stations with the coast and with the administrative centres.

6. Organization of expeditions and flying columns to keep up the communication of the stations with each other and with the coast, to support repressive action, and to assure the security of roadways.

7. Restriction of the importation of fire-arms, at least of modern pattern, and of ammunition throughout the entire extent of the territories infected by the slave trade.

In consequence of the plunder and murders which had long prevailed in the Imperrah (Imperri) country, Her Majesty's Government notified by proclamation on 24th October, 1890, that active jurisdiction would be exercised over the said country.

The Imperri, bounded by the Jong river towards the south and by the Bagru on its northern and western extremities, was ceded to Great Britain in September, 1825, by Convention made between Governor Turner and Banka, King of Sherbro, and the Chiefs and Headmen of the Sherbro country, but notwithstanding such cession, jurisdiction was not exercised over it.

Shortly after the issue of the Proclamation, Governor Hay interviewed the Imperri Chiefs at Sherbro, and he handed to each of them a copy of the official notification.

After the interview, a deputation of the principal merchants and traders at Sherbro brought to the Governor's notice the loss to trade in the district, in consequence of the Chiefs keeping the "Purrah" on the palm-trees.

The "Purrah" is a restriction placed by the Chiefs on the cutting of nuts by anyone until it is removed by his order, when all are allowed to gather the nuts from the trees, which are common property.

This restriction we consider an excellent preventive of the wanton collection of unripe nuts, but in some

cases the Chiefs keep the purrah on the trees for years, and as a consequence the nuts ripen and rot.

The Governor promised to do what he could to remove the evil complained of by communicating with the Chiefs on the matter.

Attention was also invited to the "Man Leopard" cannibalism in the Imperri country.

The so-called human leopards or men dressed in leopard skins, belonging to a secret society,* attacked solitary individuals, and murdered them for some special purpose.

This interview impressed the Governor with the necessity of visiting the latest addition to the Colony, and that his presence also, accompanied by an armed force, would have a good effect in the new country. Accordingly, Sir James Hay, with a body of Sierra Leone Police, journeyed through the Imperri country, and he received a warm welcome from the chiefs and people.

Towards the middle of November, 1890, Governor Hay proceeded on a tour to the Sherbro country and the surrounding Aboriginal States. Leaving Bonthe, he journeyed to Lavanah, Sulymah, Manoh Salijah, Fairo, Bandasumah, Faluba, Pujahun, Maweh, Tikonko, Bompeh, Jama, and Taima, returning to Bonthe by way of Manohquay and Mattru, on the Jong, in January, 1891.

He concluded a batch of peace and friendship treaties with the native chiefs *en route*.

On February 28th the Governor left Freetown for Porto Lokkoh *en route* to the Timini and Marampa countries, and returned by way of Ribbi on 9th April, 1891.

Both visits were a source of great satisfaction to the Chiefs whom he visited, and must undoubtedly help to prevent internicine wars in the interior to the general good.

In March, 1891, the districts formerly known as the "First Eastern" and the "Mountain" Districts respectively, were merged in "The Police District of Freetown."

A Census† of the Colony was taken on April 5th,

* In 1895 an Ordinance was passed to facilitate the detection and punishment of murders committed by "The Human Leopard Society."

† Report of the Census of 1891 by Major Crooks, Colonial Secretary.

1891, but it did not include the whole of the British territory. It was deemed necessary, for political reasons, to confine it to those parts only which were comprised in that of 1881, as it was apprehended that, through ignorance, the aborigines living in some of the newly acquired territory would misconstrue the object of the enumeration, and become unnecessarily dissatisfied.

The Census gave the following results:—

Coloured	...	...	74,611
Whites	...	...	224
			<hr/>
Total	...	...	74,835
			<hr/>

Freetown, the capital, contained 30,000 inhabitants, and over 5,000 dwellings, 221 being built of stone.

About half of the black population consisted of Liberated Africans and their descendants, the balance being composed of members of the neighbouring tribes. The majority of the Liberated Africans are said to be either Akus or Eboes.

The number of persons professing Christianity was 41,361 (more than half of the population). There were four Jews, 7,396 Mohammedans (about one-tenth of the community), and 26,074 Pagans (numbering more than a third).

Of Christian denominations the Episcopalians and Nonconformists were about equal, each numbering over 20,000, the Roman Catholics (571) making up the balance.

The occupation which the inhabitants follow is:—

Government officers	...	...	1,176
Ministers of religion, members of legal and medical professions	...	...	114
Merchants and merchants' clerks	...	...	578
Traders and hawkers	...	...	11,453
Farmers, farm labourers, and market people	...	...	16,796
Grumettas, labourers, and house servants	...	...	5,746
Fishermen and seamen	...	..	3,326
			<hr/>
Carried forward,			39,189

	Brought forward,	39,189
Mechanics ... ..	...	3,409
Butchers, bakers, &c. ... ..	...	218
Miscellaneous ... ..	...	5,197
Transient traders and strangers ... ..	...	1,619
School-children ... ..	...	14,069
Infants ... ..	...	4,558
No occupation ... ..	...	6,576
		<hr/>
		74,835
		<hr/>

Governor Hay proceeded to England 21st April, 1891, on leave of absence, and was appointed to the government of Barbadoes.

During the five years that Sir James Hay was connected with Sierra Leone he worked with great energy for its welfare, following carefully the policy adopted by his predecessor in financial matters, which policy not only enabled the loan obtained from the Imperial Government in 1877 to be paid off, but, after many years of debt the assets of the Colony at the close of the year 1891 exceeded its liabilities.

In the next two years the annual grants from Imperial Funds on account of the Governor's salary (£2,500) and the upkeep of the Colonial steamer (£2,900) became a charge upon the revenue of the Colony owing to its improved financial position.

The small expenditure for the support of Liberated Africans, under the acts for the abolition of the slave trade, which was defrayed from Imperial sources, became chargeable to Colonial funds at this period also.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PERIOD 1891 TO 1894.

Major Crooks assumes the Government—Mr. Garrett's visit to the interior—Expedition to Tambi—Boundary Commissioners—Death of Bishop Crowther—Inauguration of the President of Liberia—Chief Justice Quayle-Jones knighted—Sir William Quayle-Jones assumes the Government—Administrators visit to Tambi—Peace Treaty at Kukuna—Mission to Falaba—The Tongo people—Sir F. Fleming assumes the Government—Strike of Labourers—Freetown a municipal city—Customs Duties Amendment Ordinance—District Commissioners Ordinance—Governor's visit to Bandasuma—Meeting of Mendi Chiefs—Major Crooks assumes the Government—Mr. Samuel Lewis, C.M.G.—British Sovereignty over Porto Loko—Overland Slave Traffic, suppression of—Treaty with Bey Inga—Swarm of Locusts—Governor Fleming's return—Expedition against the Sofas—Governor Fleming quits the Colony—Major Crooks assumes the Government.

UPON Governor Hay's departure from the Colony, Major J. J. Crooks, the Colonial Secretary, by Her Majesty's Commission to him dated 23rd March, 1891, assumed the government.

In December, 1890, Travelling Commissioner Garrett left Freetown on a journey to the interior.

At this time war was being waged in the Upper Sandah country by war boys under the leadership of Chief Bey Bureh and one Carimoo, a notorious freebooter. Mr. Garrett during his journey through that part of the country concluded treaties of peace and friendship on behalf of the Government, with Samourah, King of Lokkoh, and Kandeh Fariang, King of Upper Sandah. He also endeavoured to induce Bey Bureh to accompany him to Freetown, but without success.

It was publicly stated in Freetown on Mr. Garrett's return that he met with a hostile reception at one of the towns occupied by Carimoo's war boys, that he informed the war boys the Governor would send a force to disperse them, and that he set fire to a part of the town upon quitting it.

We have not been able to determine the correctness

or otherwise of this report, from the fact that access is not allowed to records of later date than the year 1830, and that the latest Blue Book published on the subject of native disturbances in Sierra Leone was in 1889 (C.5740), but should the report be correct, which we think is by no means unlikely bearing in mind Mr. Garrett's proceedings at Wendeh in March, 1889, when the war boys were dispersed, many being killed or wounded, it would throw some light upon the origin of one of our little wars in Africa.

Mr. Garrett reached Freetown by way of Porto Lokkoh early in March, 1891. After his return the Government deemed it advisable to make a demonstration in force in the Upper Sandah country, and the Inspector-General of Police was placed in charge of the expedition, but was instructed not to resort to arms, unless it was absolutely necessary.

Leaving Freetown on 22nd April, 1891, the force reached Tambi on 5th May, and halted a short distance from the stockade, inside of which there were a great many people. When the officers went to the fence to talk they met with a far from friendly reception, and were informed of Mr. Garrett's recent visit to their country. The officers then retired, and when they got back to their party, the war boys fired upon the police, who returned the fire. During the operations the constable firing the rockets was killed, and the police officers and three constables were wounded slightly. The police force returned to Freetown on May the 13th.

It was then decided as soon as possible after the cessation of the rains, a sufficient force should be sent to disperse the war boys. On 14th March, 1892, another force of police, consisting of four officers and 150 men, were despatched, under Major Moore, Inspector-General, on a punitive expedition to Tambi. The police endeavoured to take Tambi by assault, but failed to do so and had to retire. In the attack Captain W. H. Robinson, Royal Engineers, and one constable were killed and four officers and 21 police were wounded.

This reverse necessitated the despatch of a military expedition to Tambi; accordingly a force consisting of 25 officers and 518 non-commissioned officers and men of the West India Regiment, under Colonel A. B. Ellis, left Freetown on 30th March. They were joined by

four officers and 126 men of the Frontier Police and about 380 native contingent.

On 7th April, Tambi, which was defended by a strong stockade, outside which, at distances of about 12 and 30 feet respectively, were two war fences, was attacked about 10 o'clock a.m., and was carried by 11-30 a.m.

The casualties were: Native contingent, 5 killed and 32 wounded; Royal Engineers, one, and West India Regiment, eight men wounded, but it was difficult to estimate the loss of the enemy.

The force returned to Freetown on April 15th.

In 1891 the Boundary Commissioners appointed by Great Britain and France, Captain Kenney, Royal Engineers, and M.' Lamadon, arrived in Sierra Leone, but after working together until April, 1892, separated, not having been able to agree, and returned to Europe, and the question of survey was not again opened until 1895.

On 17th December, 1891, the French possessions were constituted the Colony of "French Guinea."

On the last day of the year 1891, there passed away at Lagos, the Right Rev. Samuel Adjai Crowther, for more than a quarter of a century the Bishop of the Niger territory. The venerable prelate, who was a native of West Africa, was rescued from a Portuguese slave ship by a British cruiser and carried into Sierra Leone, where he received his education. He spent his long life in Sierra Leone, the Yoruba country, and the Niger, as a schoolmaster, catechist, missionary, and as a pioneer bishop.

His biography belongs properly to Lagos and the Bights of Benin, but when the sad intelligence reached Sierra Leone, a funeral service was held in St George's Cathedral, and the Administrator, the Honourable Members of Council, many clergymen, and citizens attended to manifest their deep regret for this public loss.

Administrator Crooks having been instructed to proceed to Monrovia to be present at the inauguration of the President of Liberia, left Sierra Leone on January the 1st, 1892, in the Colonial steamer "Countess of Derby" to convey to the new President the congratulations of Her Majesty's Government upon his election. The President expressed his great pleasure at this complimentary mission as a further proof of the deep in-

terest taken by Her Majesty's Government and of its sympathy with the Republic

This was the first special complimentary mission from the British Government to the Republic, and the Administrator and his suite were most cordially received and entertained in the Liberian capital.

On New Year's Day, 1892, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to confer upon the Chief Justice, Mr. W. H. Quayle Jones the dignity of a Knight Bachelor. He was the first West African Judge who received such high honours while in Africa.

The intelligence was received in the Colony with much satisfaction by the officers of the Government, the members of the Bar, and the public generally.

Upon Major Crooks proceeding to England, 21st January, 1892, Sir William H. Quayle Jones, Chief Justice, by Her Majesty's Commission to him, dated 24th November, 1891, assumed the government.

On 7th March, the Administrator left for Kambia, Skarcies River, *en route* to Tambi, returning to Free-town on 14th April.

During the journey a meeting of the Kings and Chiefs of the country was held at Kukuna on 24th March to take steps to put a stop to the war that had raged between the Timinis, Limbahs, and Susus, and a treaty was concluded with the Government by which the Chiefs pledged themselves on no account whatever to send war boys or make war against the people on the other side of the Great Skarcies River.

Towards the end of April the Administrator left Free-town on a lengthy mission to Falaba and Heremakono, returning to the Colony on 16th July.

He succeeded in the principal objects of his mission, which were to open the roads which had been closed by quarrels between various native Chiefs, and to make some arrangement with the Sofas at Heremakono for the protection from their attacks of the people within the sphere of British influence.

The Under Secretary for the Colonies stated in the House of Commons on 18th September, 1893, that it was not considered desirable in the public interests to lay the papers on the Table. The French were at this time in occupation of Heremakono, but the subject of

their right to do so was still under discussion between the two Governments.

In consequence of the prevalence in the Imperri country and elsewhere within the Colony of the native Fetish plays or dances, commonly called "Tongo Play," whereby some of the inhabitants had been accused and denounced as being "Human Leopards," or as guilty of various crimes and misdemeanours, and upon such accusation and denouncement had been unlawfully burnt to death or otherwise illegally punished, it became necessary for the Government to take special steps to suppress these barbarities. A Proclamation was therefore issued on 5th May, 1892, directing that from and after that date the "Tongo Play" being contrary to law, must at once cease throughout the Colony; that every Tongo person was to quit the Colony within 21 days from the date of the Proclamation on pain of being arrested, detained and deported as a political prisoner; and that every person taking part in any "Tongo Play" would be prosecuted and punished according to law.

Civilisation has now asserted itself, and we are glad to say neither of these societies any longer exist in British territory.

Sir Francis Fleming, K.C.M.G.,* lately Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong, arrived in the Colony on 16th May, 1892, and assumed the government.

When Governor Fleming arrived, the Administrator was at Falaba and absent from the seat of government, but a warm and loyal reception was accorded him by both the officials and the people.

European importations are not always satisfactory. The first systematic strike in the history of the Colony of the labouring classes took place in the month of November. The cause arose from the Royal Engineer Department informing the labourers who were employed in the fortification works that only ninepence a day would be paid instead of one shilling. This reduction was a disappointment to the men, and they proceeded to intimidate labourers employed in mercantile firms. About 800 men having riotously assembled in the streets, it became

* Governor Fleming born 1842, was called to the Bar 1866, and held various offices under the Colonial Government, from 1869, at Mauritius, Seychelles, Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Lucia, British Guiana, and Hong Kong.

necessary for the Government to take measures for preventing intimidation and breaches of the peace. Certain provisions of the Public Order Ordinance of 1888 were accordingly put into force, and about 200 special constables sworn in. These precautions had the desired effect of quelling any disturbance of the peace, and the men finally accepted the Royal Engineer terms.

As long ago as 1865, the Select Committee appointed to consider the state of the British Establishments on the West Coast of Africa, reported to the House of Commons "that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the Governments. . . ."

In his evidence before the Committee, Sir Benjamin Pine, who administered the government of Sierra Leone, 1848-'49, recommended self-government for all the West Coast, gradually accustoming the people to manage their own affairs: he would begin by giving them municipal institutions, by making them drain their towns and take care of their local affairs, and he added that the Charter of Sierra Leone provided for municipal institutions but it was never acted on.

Sir Benjamin expressed the opinion that unless we could develop self-government for all the West Coast we should never arrive at anything better than establishing very hopeless little Crown Colonies.

Among the aborigines in the neighbourhood of the Colony each town has its Chiefs and Elders who manage local business, our neighbours the Liberians have their Mayor and Town Council, and there is a Mayor and Town Council at St. Louis, Senegal.

Notwithstanding these facts, and the rule in England and other European countries, the inhabitants of Freetown, with a population of 30,000, evinced no desire to govern themselves. They saw in the proposal for municipal government only the re-imposition of the old House and Land Tax, and accordingly opposed it.

The Home Government, however, did not lose sight of the matter.

A century was quite long enough for the Colony to be in leading strings, relying upon the Executive Government to do everything, even to lighting the

streets, supplying water, and keeping the roads and markets in repair.

On 24th October, 1889, a Bill entitled "The Municipalities Ordinance" was introduced in the Legislative Council and read a first time.

In July, 1890, the Governor and Council appointed a Committee to report upon two memorials submitted to Council bearing on the Ordinance.

Upon the recommendation of this Committee, a Committee of the Legislative Council was appointed to remodel the Bill, redraft it, and if necessary to take evidence.

At length, on 22nd February, 1893, an Ordinance passed the Council "to create the town of Freetown a municipal city and to constitute the inhabitants thereof a body corporate."

The Council is to consist of a Mayor and fifteen Councillors, twelve of whom are to be elected and three appointed by the Governor in Council.

The municipal revenue is to be derived from market dues, cemetery fees, general trade licenses, house rates, and an annual grant of £1,800 a year from the Government.

After the passing of the Ordinance, the Honourable Queen's Advocate, Mr. J. A. MacCarthy, was under its provisions appointed first Mayor by the Government, but although the Corporation was created in February, 1893, it was not until 5th August, 1895, that the City Council came into existence, and the Councillors and Mayor (Mr. Samuel Lewis, C.M.G.) were elected.

When it is borne in mind that the Mayor and Councillors of Freetown under the Charter of 1799 were Europeans appointed by the Sierra Leone Company, the election of a native Mayor and Councillors by its inhabitants to manage their local affairs is a step towards self-government, the end which the British Government has ever in view for its Colonies as soon as it can reasonably be achieved.

The Customs Duties amendment Ordinance, which came into operation on the 1st March, 1893, increased the duty of 2s. on spirits imposed by Ordinance of 1874 to 3s. per proof gallon.

It also exempted from the payment of Customs duties official goods imported into the Colony for the

use of Consulates, and repealed the section of Ordinance, 1890, which established a special tariff for the Isle de Los.

By this repeal the tariff for the whole Colony becomes uniform. It consists of an *ad valorem* duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and certain specific duties which are moderate. Articles imported for agricultural, manufacturing, and educational purposes, and coals, are exempted from duty.

There is no export duty, nor is there any direct taxation levied in the Colony.

In 1893 it was considered advisable to alter the title of Manager of a District to that of District Commissioner, according to the practice in the Gold Coast Colony and Lagos; accordingly an Ordinance passed the Council by which it was enacted that in all Ordinances, Orders of the Governor and Council, Orders and Rules of Court and legal or official documents, where the words "Manager of a District," "District Manager," or "Civil Commandant of Sherbro," or words importing the same occurred, they should be taken to mean "District Commissioner."

Every District Commissioner was to be *ex-officio* a Justice of the Peace, Commissioner of the Court of Requests, and Coroner for his district.

On 6th March, the Governor left Freetown on a visit to the Barri country, travelling by way of Bonthe and Sulymah. On the 13th, at Bendasuma, he addressed a large meeting of the Mendi Chiefs who had recently concluded friendly treaties with Her Majesty's Government, and commenced the return journey next day.

Owing to ill-health, Governor Fleming proceeded to England, 27th April, 1893, and Major J. J. Crooks, the Colonial Secretary, again assumed the Government.

Among the Queen's Birthday Honours of the year 1893, the Companionship of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George was conferred upon Mr. Samuel Lewis, B.L., unofficial member of the Legislative Council.

A further distinction, the dignity of a Knight Bachelor, was conferred upon Mr. Lewis, on New Year's Day, 1896.

Mr. Lewis, born 1843, a Barrister of the Middle Temple, is the first native African in Africa who has

been chosen for such high honour, and the intelligence was received in the Colony with much satisfaction by all classes of the community.

The negroes were naturally proud that one of their own race should be the recipient of such a dignity, whilst his position as solicitor for many years to European mercantile firms gained for him a host of friends at home and abroad, who regarded him not only the defender of their trading interests, but also of being as English as the English themselves.

On 10th July, the Administrator, Major Crooks, accompanied by an escort of 100 men of the West India Regiment, with six field guns, proceeded to Porto Lokkoh* to assert British sovereignty over it. On the following day a meeting of the Chiefs was held on a large open plain where the Muslims generally assemble to pray on their great feast days, when the Proclamation was read, the Union Jack hoisted, and a royal salute fired.

The gathering was said to be one of the largest and most orderly that ever took place within the district of Porto Lokkoh. The military escort was drawn up in line with the field guns to the left, and the bright uniforms and bayonets glistening in the morning sun presented a scene such as was never before witnessed in that district and which created a very strong impression on the minds of the natives, who sat as if spellbound.

On receipt of the Order of the Queen in Council, passed 9th May, 1892, for bringing the General Act of the Brussels Conference within the operation of the Slave Trade Act, 1873, instructions were issued by the Government to the police in August, 1893, to prevent the sale or barter and the transit of slaves under restraint along the roads in the districts and towns within the sphere of British influence.

Bey Inga, King of the Ro Bureh or Small Skarcies, and the Chiefs and principal men of that country, having presented to the Governor of the Colony a request that their country should be placed under the protection of Great Britain, and Her Majesty's Government having acceded to the request, the Administrator, Major

* Porto Lokkoh was ceded to the Sierra Leone Government by Treaty entered into in 1825 between Governor Turner and the Chiefs of the Bacca Lokkoh District.

Crooks, concluded a treaty on 26th December, 1893, taking the country under the protection and sovereignty of Great Britain.

The district affected by this step lies between the Magbemah or Great Skarcies country and the Mafoki or Porto Lokkoh country, extending on the northern bank of the Small Skarcies River as far as the western boundary of Almami Sattan Lahais territory, and on the southern bank of the river from the Ro Bureh creek as far as the western boundary of Bey Bureh's territory.

The King and Chiefs of the Small Skarcies had been on terms of friendship with H.M. Government since the conclusion of Treaty in 1851.

They granted to the Sierra Leone Government the full right of imposing and collecting Customs duties and dues, and to erect and maintain Customs Preventive Stations in any part of their country, and Her Majesty's Government promised that the customs of their country should not be interfered with beyond what might be necessary to the maintenance of peace and order, and to the prevention of the traffic in slaves ; and generally to enforce the fulfilment of the treaty entered into.

Governor Fleming returned to the Colony on 8th November from leave of absence.

During the time he had been absent from Sierra Leone there is no doubt that the position of the Colony had occupied his attention and possibly that of the authorities in Downing Street, for in a speech made at a banquet at Liverpool in June, 1893, we find him using the following words: —

“ Let us do all in our power to preserve the possessions which we now have ; let us do all in our power to make them flourish and prosper ; let us do all in our power to extend their boundaries into the interior of the continent.”

How different would have been the position of the hinterland had it been possible for Sir Samuel Rowe or Governor Havelock to have acted on such principles when the King of Sego and the Almami Samodu were seeking to be taken under British protection. But the decision of 1865 prevented these offers being accepted, or indeed any such offers made during the last twenty years.

Already the beneficial results of the “ Scramble for

Africa " had been felt in the districts on the coast line, and the Yonnie, Sherbro, and Gallinas District since Sir F. de Winton's expedition under Governor Hay's rule, had enjoyed such a protracted period of peace as had never before been known.

These sentiments led to an opinion being formed that the hinterland would be more carefully considered in the future, to the greater prosperity of Sierra Leone.

On November 25th, 1893, a vast swarm of locusts passed over Freetown from the Eastern District (Waterloo) darkening the heavens as they moved along, and damaging the rice crop. There was considerable excitement in the city on the occasion, no similar visitation having taken place since 1843. In the earlier part of the year the locusts passed over the farms in the Great and Small Skarcies Districts and North Bullom.

In November, 1893, the Home Government decided to send an expeditionary force from Sierra Leone against the Sofa marauders, who, when pursued by the French, made their way southwards into the British sphere, devastating the country, killing the inhabitants, or carrying them off as slaves.

Accordingly 17 officers and 431 men, under the command of Colonel A. B. Ellis, C.B.,* the West India Regiment, left Freetown during the last week of November and early part of December, and advanced from Bendoo in Sherbro to Banguma in Bambara *via* Mafwe, and thence to Kerra Yemma, the chief position of the Sofas.

Before daybreak on the 23rd December the British camp at Warina (Waima), Konnoh country, was attacked by Lieutenant Maritz, of the French Army, with a force of 30 Tirailleurs Senegalais and about 1,200 native allies, who mistook the force in camp to be Sofas, under Porokerri, endeavouring to escape from the sphere of British influence and join Samodu. A very heavy and well-sustained fire, both from rifles and muskets, was kept up on the camp, and our losses in

* Colonel Ellis was invalided to Teneriffe 15th February, 1894, where he died on 6th March from illness contracted during the expedition.

As a writer on West African subjects he was well known, and he was deeply steeped in West African folk-lore, as evinced in his published works and contributions to scientific magazines.

the melancholy affair were:—Killed: Lieutenants Liston and Wroughton, serjeant-major, and four privates, West India Regiment, and Captain Lendy, Inspector-General, and two privates of the Frontier Police Force; wounded: one serjeant-major and 14 men of the West India Regiment, and three men of the Frontier Police.

Lieutenant Maritz died at noon from wounds received, and was buried with military honours along with our dead.

Compensation was claimed from the French Government for the relatives of the British force killed at Waima, but there was considerable delay in arranging for a settlement of the question, due to the necessity of establishing to the satisfaction of the French Government that the incident took place in British territory.

It was not until 1896 that the position of Waima was finally determined.

In 1900 the French Government admitted that compensation was due, and agreed to arbitration* in order to settle the amount. Pending the result of the arbitration various payments have been made by Her Majesty's Government to the sufferers.

On the morning of 28th December, the Sofas attacked the town of Tungeah in the Mongray District, but were repulsed with considerable loss by the Frontier Police, under Sub-Inspector Taylor, and the leader of the party, Porokerri, was killed.

On 2nd January, 1894, at Bagbwema, the Sofas were taken by surprise, and their loss was about 200 killed and 77 prisoners. In the forest outside the town about 70 were shot down; but 673 slaves, women and children, who had been carried off by the Sofas in their various raids, were rescued.

The troops commenced the return march on 10th January, 1894, and the headquarters of the expedition reached Freetown on 21st.

The officer in command of the expedition reported that the devastation wrought by the Sofas was far greater than he had supposed. In addition to the depredations committed in Kuniki and Kuranko, a large

* In August, 1902, whilst going to press, the award of Baron Lambermont, to whom this matter was referred, has been published, and the sum to be paid by the French Government is fixed at £9,000. H. M. Government claimed £10,000.

part of Bambara, the northern half of Sana Konno, and the whole of Sanda Konno, had been laid waste. The Sofas were simply slave hunters. With or without pretext they attacked in succession the surrounding tribes, taking the rice and other crops for their own use, slaughtering the men, and seizing the women and children as slaves.

In regard to this expedition, which caused considerable trouble concerning the Waima incident, it is well that it should be understood that this little war was not created by the much-abused Colonial official on the spot. Hitherto this official had been accused of being too ready to take active measures against the natives, instead of resorting to more patient and peaceful negotiation. It would appear that it was ordered by the Colonial Office entirely on information derived from military sources through the War Office, and that the Governor of the Colony had nothing to do with it beyond carrying out his instructions concerning it.

Reference has been made before in these pages to cases where outside influence has been brought to bear on Colonial matters and action taken without consultation with the local authorities.

Owing to ill-health, Governor Fleming was compelled to leave the Colony on 31st January, 1894.

His departure was much regretted by the inhabitants who manifested their widespread sympathy for him. He was painstaking, careful, and sympathetic in his administration, evincing much interest in the welfare of the natives, and had his health permitted him to remain longer in the Colony, his administration would have been one of marked progress, but he made first acquaintance with the African climate too late in life.

Upon Governor Fleming's departure, Major J. J. Crooks, the Colonial Secretary, again assumed the government.

CHAPTER XIX

PERIOD 1894-97.

Colonel Cardew assumes the Government—Governor's tour to the Hinterland—Frontier Police Posts—Stoppage of Overland Slave Traffic—Disturbances in Sandah Lokkoh District—Labourers at the Congo—Territorial arrangements with France—Governor's second tour to the Hinterland—The Government Railway Scheme—Colonel Caulfield assumes the Government—Disturbances in Taiwor Country—Trial by Jury Ordinance—Human Leopard Society Ordinance—Customs Duties Ordinance—Opening of Technical School—Office of Queen's Advocate abolished—Governor's third tour to the Hinterland—The Sierra Leone Protectorate—Colonel Caulfield assumes the Government—The Queen's Diamond Jubilee—Colonel Gore assumes the Government.

UPON the return to England of Governor Fleming, Colonel F. Cardew* was appointed to administer the Government of Sierra Leone temporarily, and he arrived in the Colony on 14th March, 1894, and took the oaths of office.

In May, 1894, Colonel Cardew was created C.M.G., and on 3rd December following he was proclaimed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Sierra Leone.

A fortnight after his assumption of office the Governor proceeded to the Hinterland by way of Waterloo, in order to establish police posts in the most convenient centres and to visit the Konno District, which had been the scene of recent raids by the Sofas and Mendis.

During this visit he fixed upon Mongheri and Falaba as posts, and arranged for a company of Frontier Police to be stationed at each place under the command of a European officer. He held meetings with some of the Chiefs and explained his intended policy to them, and

* Colonel Cardew, born 1839, entered the army 1858 as Ensign, 50th Bengal Native Infantry, became colonel 1887, and retired 1890. He served on the staff in South Africa and China, and in the campaign in the N. W. Frontier of India, 1863, and Zulu and Transvaal campaigns 1879-81. Appointed Resident Commissioner, Zululand, 1890

also took steps for the adoption of stringent measures for stopping the overland slave traffic, which was rife in the districts through which he travelled.

This journey covered over 600 miles and occupied 51 days, and it was the first time in the history of the Colony that one of its Governors penetrated the interior so far, or embraced so extensive a region in his official tours.

After the Governor's return from the Protectorate, arrangements were made for dividing it, for police purposes, into five districts, with a company consisting of a European officer, a native officer, eight non-commissioned officers and 90 men in each district, viz., Karene, Falaba, Panguma, Bandajuma, and Freetown, where the headquarters of the whole corps is situated. Small detachments, usually consisting of a non-commissioned officer and three privates, were to be posted at the most important places, such as towns where several routes converged, and each district is traversed by constant patrols, in order to check the slave traffic, prevent slave raiding, and maintain general peace and order. The passing of Ordinances and signing treaties was fruitless in these respects, and it was a wise step to introduce the controlling influence of a European officer and a force of police in each district which, concentrated at any point, was strong enough to enforce the carrying out of these agreements.

In consequence of the disturbances which had prevailed in the Sandah Lokkoh district for several years, and the consequent increase of the slave trade there, it became necessary on the 1st of June to issue a Proclamation prohibiting the importation of flint-lock guns and trade gunpowder into the disturbed area, and to take measures for the arrest of Fombo and Susa, the leaders in these disturbances. The steps proved successful, and they were arrested and detained as political prisoners under Ordinance No. 4 of 20th August.

For the construction of the Congo Free State Railway large numbers of the labouring classes were engaged in Sierra Leone and taken to that State since 1891.

Complaints as to the ill-treatment of these labourers were made from time to time. In 1894, however, the Government received information that the Sierra Leone labourers upon their arrival in the Congo Free State

were required to serve as soldiers and were subject to military discipline and severe floggings.

Owing to this it was deemed necessary to issue a notice on the 5th June notifying that persons desirous of entering the service of that State should not leave the Colony without having a written agreement stating the nature of employment and the terms of service, signed before the police magistrate of Freetown or the District Commissioners of the Sherbro, Eastern, or Western District, who would explain it to them.

In consequence of the failure of the 1891 survey to settle the boundary lines, the English and French Commissioners who had charge of the Agreement signed in Paris in 1891, again proceeded to arrive at the delimitation of the respective frontiers to the North and East of Sierra Leone. A further agreement was arrived at and signed 21st January, 1895,* by which the French are conceded for a considerable distance the right bank of the Great Skarcies River and the whole basin of the Niger.

The boundary starts from a point on the Atlantic coast north-west of the village of Kiragba, where a circle of 500 metres radius, described from the centre of the village, cuts high-water mark.

From this point it proceeds, in a north-easterly direction, parallel to the road leading from Kiragba to Robenia, as far as a point half-way between the village of Kongobutia (English) and the village of Digipali (French). From this point it turns to the south-east and proceeds till it reaches a point to the south of Digipali, whence it is drawn directly to the watershed formed by a ridge which, commencing south of the destroyed village of Passinodia, distinctly marks the line of separation between the basin of the Mellakori River and that of the Great Skarcies or Kolente River.

Finally the frontier follows the aforesaid watershed south-eastward, leaving Kalieri to Great Britain and Herimakuna (Erimakono) to France, until its intersection with the parallel of latitude passing through Tembikunda (Tembikounda), that is to say, the source of the Tembiko or Niger.

During the course of the treaty negotiations the Commissioners were led to examine the situation resulting

* *Vide Treaty Series, No. 5 (1895).*

from the arrangement concluded in December, 1892, between the Government of the French Republic and the Government of the Republic of Liberia, in so far as the eastern frontier of the Colony of Sierra Leone is concerned, and the respective Governments approved of the declaration agreed upon by the Commissioners that from the point of intersection of the watershed separating the basin of the Niger on the one hand from the basins of the rivers flowing westwards to the Atlantic Ocean on the other hand, with the parallel of latitude passing through Tembi-Kunda, the frontier of the Colony of Sierra Leone is formed by the said parallel as far as the 13th degree of longitude west of Paris, and then by that meridian until it meets the Anglo-Liberian frontier.

The Commissioners also arrived at an understanding as to the principle of the arrangements intended to regulate the commercial relations between the Colony of Sierra Leone and the neighbouring French possessions, and the respective Governments consented that the traders and travellers belonging to the two countries should be treated on a footing of perfect equality in so far as the use of roads and other means of land communication are concerned; the roads crossing the frontier shall on both sides be open to commerce on payment of such duties and taxes as may be established; the two Governments engage not to establish on the land frontier any import or export duties higher than those which shall be levied on the maritime frontier of either Colony; the duties on exports not in any case to exceed 7 per cent. *ad valorem*; and posts at which duties or taxes shall be paid, to be established at certain fixed points on the frontier.

The Commissioners were further led to examine the situation created to the riverain inhabitants of a certain portion of the Great Skarcies by the execution of the Agreement of August, 1889, and it was communicated to the Government of the French Republic that, although by the Agreement of January, 1895, the British frontier follows the right bank of the Great Skarcies, to the point where that river is joined by the Little Mola, Her Majesty's Government permit the riverain inhabitants to continue to use the river as heretofore.

It was, however, to be understood that the inhabi-

tants of these villages would be subject to such Laws or Ordinances as might from time to time be put in force by the Government of Sierra Leone for regulating the navigation of the river or in connection with the control of its waters.

Sierra Leone is thus definitely shut out from its Hinterland, for although permission to use trade routes under certain conditions is granted to British traders, this can by no means compensate the British Colony for the absolute loss of its possible future extension.

In December, 1895, the British representative on the Anglo-French Boundary Commission, Lieut.-Colonel J. K. Trotter, R.A., accompanied by Lieut. A. H. Tyler, R.E., Assistant Commissioner, left Freetown for the interior, to survey the boundary as settled by the Agreements referred to, and returned in May, 1896, after completing their work.

On the 30th January, 1895, Governor Cardew proceeded to the Hinterland *via* Waterloo, through the Mendi, Bonibali, Luawa, Konno, Kuranko, Limbah and Lokkoh Districts, returning to Freetown by way of Kambia, on the Great Skarcies River, on April the 5th.

The journey covered some 600 miles, and occupied 66 days.

During this tour the Governor held meetings with some of the Chiefs of places which he visited and explained his intended policy with regard to stopping the overland slave traffic.

There is no doubt that these expeditions were of great value, as they not only enabled the Governor to see the country for himself and form his own opinions as to its condition, but it also enabled the natives and their Chiefs to see the Governor and discuss their affairs with him in a less formal way than could be done at the great meetings which took place occasionally at Freetown. A more intimate knowledge of each other, in fact, became possible which all tended towards peace and the promotion of commerce with the Colony, as well as to the suppression of slavery and fetish observances which caused great trouble.

At a meeting of the Legislative Council on 1st May, the Governor gave an account of his tour in the Protectorate, and stated that the direction taken was governed principally with a view to ascertain the

most profitable as well as practicable line for a railway.

Mr. Shelford, the Engineer who had been sent to the Colony by direction of the Secretary of State to make a survey for railway purposes, recommended the construction of a line from Freetown to Bumban, a distance of about 140 miles, the estimated cost of constructing the same, together with a landing pier at Freetown amounting to £150,000 in round numbers.

It was considered that a light line of 2' 6" gauge was the most suitable for the requirements of the Colony, and that the first section to be constructed should be from Freetown to Songo Town, a distance of 32 miles.

As to whether the line should be constructed by the State or by private enterprise, the Governor remarked that it was questionable whether there were any private individuals who would have sufficient confidence in the prospects of a railway in the Colony to embark their capital in its construction or to work it without a substantial guarantee from the Government, but apart from that consideration he thought it would be better from a political as well as economical point of view for the line to be constructed and worked by the Government as there would necessarily be less danger of friction with the natives of the Protectorate, and he trusted it would be more efficiently managed, though this latter statement might be open to question.

It was also mentioned that within the past seven years the subject of the construction of a railway in the Colony had been under the consideration of the Government, and had been brought up on two different occasions. In both these proposals the Syndicates wanted guarantees from the Government of interest on the capital required, but the Secretary of State did not see his way to give financial support to either of these schemes.

The scheme before the Council was not initiated by the Government nor any public body in the Colony. It proceeded from the Chambers of Commerce in England.

The Council agreed that the construction of the first section of the Railway from Freetown to Songo Town be undertaken at the expense of the Government as soon as practicable.

On the 14th November, 1895, a staff of surveyors and assistants arrived in Freetown, and commenced a sur-

vey for a narrow gauge railway (2' 6") from the ground at one time used as a race course, near Cline Town about two miles from Freetown, to Songo Town, a distance of about thirty miles.

Twelve days later, an Ordinance was passed in the Legislative Council to enable the Government to take possession of lands for the construction, establishment, and maintenance of a railway for the Colony.

Ordinances were subsequently passed empowering the Government to raise funds (£150,000) for the construction and equipment of the railway giving power to establish and maintain railways, and to take and purchase lands for the purpose. Its construction commenced in January, 1896.

Thus the first railway in British West Africa was started.

During the absence in England of the Governor from June to December, 1895, Lieut-Colonel Caulfield, Commanding the Troops, administered the government.

Since 1892, disturbances causing considerable trouble and interfering with the trade of the Sulymah District, prevailed on the Liberian border, and necessitated the Government posting extra police in the district to try and keep peace.

One Perry Duaroe or Pedwara, who resided in Liberian territory appears to have been at the bottom of these disturbances. It would seem that on the 10th April, 1893, a man named Tambawa, employed by Perry Duaroe, with his war boys, crossed over into the Taiwor land (Liberian territory), came into Tunkia, within the British sphere of influence, and during the same month made advances to employ mercenaries from Pow Lalana, the Chief of that place, to assist him in his projects. He then, with Perry Duaroe and their followers, occupied the towns of Bakehmah and Fanga-walahun within the British sphere, from whence they used to cross over to make wars in Taiwor (Liberian territory) and take to the Gora country such persons as they could capture.

These troubles formed the subject of much correspondence with the Liberian Government. At length Tambawa was arrested and detained as a political prisoner under Ordinance No. 12 of 1895.

In August, the Legislative Council passed an Ordi-

nance to amend the law with reference to trial by jury.

By this Ordinance, trial by the Court with the aid of assessors in certain cases, became law, and in cases not punishable by death a return was made to the old system of a majority verdict.

The property qualification of jurors was raised, and the Governor in Council has the power of ordering a trial by assessors in the case of public officers charged with certain criminal offences affecting Government property.

Many murders having been committed by members of a secret society in the Imperri District, known as "The Human Leopard Society," which had terrorised the country, and owing to the difficulty of detecting the perpetrators of these crimes an Ordinance, passed the Council on 29th October, 1895, which makes penal the wearing or possession of certain articles—such as leopard skin, so shaped as to make a man wearing it resemble a leopard; a leopard knife or knives, with two prongs; certain native medicine known as "Borfima," or any medicine of a like nature. It also gives the police greater powers of arrest and search on a warrant from a magistrate.

To check the introduction into the Colony of a very inferior class of trade spirits, hitherto largely introduced and consumed chiefly by the natives of the Hinterland who are collectors of produce, and to increase the revenue necessary to meet expenses connected with the development of the Colony by means of a railway, &c.

An Ordinance passed the Council towards the close of the year 1895, directing Customs duties to be charged on the imperial, instead of the proof, gallon in the case of spirits under proof.

A further Customs Duties Amendment Ordinance came into operation from 1st August, 1896, increasing the *ad valorem* duty from $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 10 per cent., the specific duty on salt from 3s. to 8s. per ton, and reducing the duties on sugar, bread, and flour.

Sound technical and industrial training being one of the greatest needs of the Colony, in January, 1896, the Technical Institution, Freetown, for educating the youths of the Colony in carpentry and masonry, &c., was formally opened by the Governor.

The Government granted a plot of land for the above purpose, with £420 to defray the initial expenses, and a grant of £100 per year for five years from date of opening.

Early in 1896 it was decided to abolish the office of Queen's Advocate,* and an Ordinance, No. 10 of 1896, passed the Legislative Council accordingly, appointing two officers to be called the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General respectively.

On the 28th January, 1896, Governor Cardew proceeded to the Hinterland by way of the Rokelle River as far as Benkia, thence through Matotoko to Makali, across the Kuniki country to Kro or Kruto, then due east to Tembi-Kunda, the source of the Niger, from thence due south along the Anglo-Liberian frontier to Kare-Lahun, thence through the Luawa and Bombali districts to Yandahu, and thence through Taima, Bulma, Bandasuma, Bandajuma, and Mafwe, returning to Freetown *via* Bonthe, on the 5th April.

During this tour the Governor held meetings with some of the Chiefs of places which he visited, and explained in outline the intended Protectorate Ordinance, including the Taxation clauses.

On August 31st, 1896, a Proclamation was published setting forth that Her Majesty had assumed a Protectorate over the territories adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone in which Her Majesty had acquired power and jurisdiction.

In anticipation of the arrangements that might become necessary for the government of the Protectorate, an Order of the Queen in Council had been made on 24th August, 1895, under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, whereby on the recital that Her Majesty had acquired jurisdiction within divers foreign countries on the west coast of Africa, near or adjacent to Her Majesty's Colony of Sierra Leone, Her Majesty was pleased, with the advice of her Privy Council, to order that it shall be lawful for the Legislative Council, for the time being, of the Colony of Sierra Leone, by Ordinance, to provide for giving effect to all such jurisdiction as Her Majesty might have acquired in the territories adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone.

* There had been a King's or Queen's Advocate from the early days of the Colony.

For purposes of administration the Hinterland was divided into five districts, intended to be of about equal size, avoiding severance as far as possible by the district boundary of the territories of paramount chiefs. These districts have been named as the Karene, Ronietta, Bandajuma, Panguma, and Koinadugu districts.

The population of these districts numbered about 1,000,000, and the various tribes were distributed as follows: —

Karene District	...	Bulloms, Timinis, Limbas, Susus.
Ronietta	do. ..	Mendis, Yonnies.
Bandajuma	do. ...	Mendis, Kurantios, Gowras, and Gal- linas,
Panguma	do. ...	Mendis and Konnos.
Koinadugu	do. ...	Susus, Limbas, Jalunka.

Following upon the Order of the Queen in Council, an Ordinance entitled "An Ordinance to determine the mode of exercising Her Majesty's Jurisdiction in the territories adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone," was passed by the Legislative Council for the Government of the Protectorate, on 16th September, 1896.

In the provisions of this Ordinance, three Courts of Law are established in each district; and it discriminates between

- (1) The jurisdiction which should be left to the native Chiefs,
- (2) That which should be allotted to the native Chiefs and the District Commissioners jointly, and
- (3) That which should be given to the District Commissioners solely,

the general principle being to leave to the Chiefs all civil cases arising exclusively between natives other than cases involving a question of title to land; and all criminal cases arising exclusively between natives other than those of a very serious nature, which were assigned to the joint court; while the Court of the District Commissioner was to take cases, generally speaking, in which persons not natives were concerned, and matters of slave dealing and the like. It enacted that slave dealing is unlawful, and that slaves in the Protectorate might purchase their freedom for a fixed sum.

It imposed from the beginning of 1898 on every Chief a house tax of 10s. a year for each house with four or

more rooms, and of 5s. for every house with three or less rooms, with a rebate of 5 per cent. when the full amount was paid by the Chief.

The house tax was to be paid in coin, unless the officer collecting the same has no alternative but to accept grain, stock, merchandise, or produce.

The Protectorate Ordinance, upon being passed into law, was transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but Mr. Chamberlain found himself unable to agree to some of its provisions, particularly those which related to lands and which appeared to assume (what was not the case) that the soil of the Protectorate was vested in the Crown. He accordingly directed the repeal of this Ordinance, and the enactment of another Ordinance to take its place, pointing out at the same time that an Ordinance dealing with subjects of so much complexity and importance should not have been passed without having been first submitted.

Governor Cardew proceeded to England in May, 1897, on six months' leave of absence, and upon his departure Colonel J. W. Caulfield, Officer Commanding the Troops, assumed the Government.

To perpetuate the remembrance of the sixtieth anniversary of the Queen's Accession to the Throne, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated in the Colony from 20th to 22nd June, and Victoria Park, a portion of the grounds in the immediate neighbourhood of Fort Thornton, granted by the Government, was duly opened.

A detachment of the Frontier Police Force (fifteen in all) proceeded to England on May the 14th to take part in the celebrations held in London. They were all presented with the Jubilee Medal, and returned to Sierra Leone on July the 23rd.

Colonel Caulfield was invalided to Grand Canary on 5th August, 1897, and Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Gore, the Colonial Secretary, took charge of the government until his return to the Colony on 10th September.

CHAPTER XX.

PERIOD 1898 TO 1900.

Insurrection in the Protectorate—Volunteer Force Ordinance—
Insurgents' Detention Ordinance—Supreme Court Ordinance—
Sir David Chalmers, H. M. Commissioner—His Report on
the Insurrection—St. George's Cathedral handed over to
C. Missionary Society—West African Regiment formed—
Major Nathan assumes the Government—Opening of the
Government Railway—Opening of Mohammedan School—
Development of Pearl Fishery—House Tax for the Colony—
Governor Cardew to England—Colonel Caulfield assumes the
Government—Sir A. C. King-Harman assumes the Govern-
ment.

THROUGH the refusal of a Chief named Bai Bureh of Karene District to pay the hut tax, imposed by the Ordinance of 1896, when required to do so by the District Commissioner, an insurrection* broke out in the Protectorate early in 1898.

Instructions for the collection of the hut tax, which was to begin with the beginning of 1898, were sent to the District Commissioners of Karene, Ronietta, and Bandajuma, the districts to which the operation of the tax was in the first instance restricted.

The District Commissioner of Karene being absent on leave in England, the collection of the tax in that district was begun later than in either of the other two districts, yet it was in Karene that armed collision between the forces of the Government and the natives first occurred.

In Ronietta, Doctor Hood, Acting District Commissioner, sent a notice in December, 1897, to the principal Chiefs, calling upon them to make payment of the hut tax on 1st January, 1898.

Doctor Hood reported to the Government that there was a disposition on the part of the majority of the Chiefs to make no effort to pay it, and that the Mabanta and Bagru districts were in a very disturbed state.

* The particulars regarding the insurrection are taken from the Parliamentary Blue Book, c. 9388, dated July, 1899.

Upon receiving this report Governor Cardew placed Captain Moore, Inspector of Frontier Police, in charge of Ronietta District.

Captain Moore took charge of the District on 21st January. His first act was to dispose of the case of Pa Nembana, the next in rank to Bai Kompah, the principal Chief of Kwai, who was taken as a prisoner to Kwalu, the headquarters of Ronietta district, and put upon his trial on the information of Sub-Chief Smart. The charge was: (1) Intimidating Chief Smart, conspiring with other Chiefs to prevent Smart paying the house tax, and using his influence with other Chiefs to do the same; (2) not obeying the orders of the Acting District Commissioner.

The sentence awarded by Captain Moore was: (1) deprivation of his Chieftainship; (2) twelve months imprisonment with hard labour, and (3) thirty-six lashes. The Governor remitted the lashes.

Captain Moore's next act was to call a meeting of the Chiefs at Kwalu, and some 60 or 70 of them attended about 24th or 25th January. Before they met a statement was made to him by one of the Chiefs that all the Chiefs had taken an oath to resist the collection of the hut tax. At the meeting Captain Moore demanded from the Chiefs a definite promise to pay the hut tax, otherwise he would arrest them, allowing them to answer on the second day.

On the second day they still demurred; he arrested ten or twelve of the Paramount Chiefs, and on the next day the Chiefs agreed to pay the tax, and did so after an interval of a month or so.

At Bandajuma a meeting of the Chiefs was called on 3rd January. After some talk it was adjourned for a week when the District Commissioner, Captain Carr, asked the Chiefs if they were ready to pay the tax. The principal Chiefs said that 5s. a house was too much and that they could not pay. Captain Carr caused them to be arrested and detained.

At the meeting there were between 4,000 and 5,000 men. The Chiefs were detained at Bandajuma until Bongo, the Head Chief there, paid £5 for his own town and £5 for Berri's town, and gave some sort of undertaking for payment by the other Chiefs. After returning to Mafwi, Chief Bongo called a meeting of his sub-

chiefs. He told them about his sufferings in prison, and the sub-chiefs appear to have agreed to pay the tax, although with reluctance. It was stated that while the Chiefs were prisoners at Bandajuma a messenger came to Mafwi at night bearing a burnt leaf (which is a symbol of war) and asked the people to go to Bandajuma and take the Chiefs out of prison by force. In the morning the people met to consult, and then there was a rumour that war would ensue.

The collection of the hut tax in the Karene District was commenced at Porto Lokkoh on 5th February by the District Commissioner, Captain Sharpe. Here some forty to sixty natives of Sierra Leone were settled as traders, occupying stores and houses which they hired for rents from the aboriginal inhabitants. Upon the traders being asked to pay the hut tax, they stated that, while ready to pay so far as they themselves were concerned, they feared to do so on account of threats used by their landlords, and that the landlords were the proper parties to pay the tax. They also said if they paid the tax it would give them the right to the houses. In order to settle this difficulty the District Commissioner sent for Bokary Bamp, who was then acting as Chief of Porto Lokkoh and asked him as to the threats the traders had spoken about. He replied that he did not wish to interfere between the traders and their landlords; that for himself he did not wish to say anything definite until he had consulted Bai Forki, who was Chief over him. The Sierra Leone traders were again before the District Commissioner when, upon making the like difficulties as before, they were ordered into custody on the charge of refusing to pay the hut tax. While the traders were in custody Bokary Bamp, with four other Chiefs, went to the District Commissioner to ask him to pity the poor traders, and upon the Chiefs declining to promise to order all their people not to molest the Sierra Leoneans for paying their tax and to at once start collecting the hut tax, they were handcuffed and taken under police escort to Freetown. The Chiefs were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour in the gaol of Freetown for terms varying for a year to fifteen months. Upon the remonstrance of the Secretary for Native Affairs some mitigation was made in their treatment.

After a short period of detention the Sierra Leone

traders were discharged, some on making payment of the tax, and others upon payment of the tax together with fines, the alternative for the fines being various terms of imprisonment with hard labour.

Soon after the arrest of the Porto Lokkoh Chiefs the attempt in connection with the hut tax collection to arrest Bai Bureh led to a collision between the Frontier Police and some of Bai Bureh's war boys.

The District Commissioner wrote a letter to Bai Bureh asking him for his hut tax, and this letter Captain Sharpe stated was sent back to him unopened with a contemptuous and defiant message. It is not, however, clear that the letter reached Bai Bureh.

The arrest was initiated by Captain Sharpe, but was approved by Governor Cardew, who sent the Inspector-General of Police, Major Tarbet, and a reinforcement of Frontier Police to assist. The force proceeded to Romani, where they expected to find Bai Bureh, but he was not there, or chose not to show himself. A large number of war boys were in and about the walled town and its approaches. The police marched through the town without any opposition and halted on the further side of it. The police officers went back into the town to make inquiries, when they seized a man and drew him outside to question him. He struggled, was wounded on the head, and made a great outcry. The wounding of this man excited the war boys. They pressed upon the police, threw tufts of grass and some stones and jeered at them. None of the party were, however, hurt. The order was given to the Police to march for Karene, and they were followed by the war boys, who jeered and threw stones. After the Police had gone on for some distance they were ordered to fire, when some war boys were killed or wounded, but the number was not ascertained. The war boys returned the fire, but only a few shots, and none of the Police were struck.

A company from the troops in garrison at Freetown was then sent to garrison Karene.

In April there was another expedition into Kwaia, Captain Fairtlough, Frontier Police, having been ordered to proceed with 50 men to Forodogu, on a rumour that the trade on the Rokelle River had been blocked. During the three weeks of the expedition

there were a series of fights in which several natives were killed and wounded, many towns and villages destroyed, and £200 of hut tax collected.

When the Chiefs were arrested and imprisoned after the meeting at Mafwi, they were released on an agreement to pay £5 for each of their considerable towns instead of paying according to the number of houses. Afterwards the houses were ordered to be counted and additional tax was required in respect of the number of the houses, which caused a great deal of ill-feeling.

The knowledge that the inhabitants of the Colony were not required to pay the tax helped to create a belief that the tax was being exacted capriciously and unjustly.

In March a powerful Chief, Momoh Jah, was arrested by the Police for not paying the tax, and they seized his sheep and cattle, some of which, it is said, they appropriated to their own use.

The Police were employed by some of the Paramount Chiefs in the collection of the hut tax and adopted severe measures in doing so. Chiefs, Headmen, and others were seized and handcuffed or tied with ropes when they hesitated to pay, and houses were broken down or burned when the tax was not paid.

The lawless outrages and severities of the Frontier Police when they were thus let loose, so to speak, in collecting the hut tax materially contributed to bring about that angry discontent which, pent up and smouldering for a time, at last broke out in massacre and plunder.

The outbreak commenced on the 26th April. Within less than a week the male British subjects in Bandajuma, Kwallu, and Sulymah Districts, with few exceptions, were murdered. A number of women also were murdered, and after an order went forth from the leaders staying the killing of women, they were treated as captive slaves.

All property belonging to British subjects was plundered, except at Bonthe and York Island, which were saved by the arrival of the marines and troops.

Two explanations have been given of the almost simultaneous outbreak over so wide an area; the one is that, at the last meeting of those who formed the plan

of the rising, each of the principal Chiefs took with him an equal number of small stones, one of which was to be thrown away every day commencing from the day of the meeting, and that the day on which the last one was thrown away all of them were to set their forces in motion in rebellion and kill all English-speaking people they could lay hands on.

Another statement is that, starting from Bompe as the centre, a number of messengers bearing a sort of fiery cross in the shape of a half-burned palm leaf, sped very rapidly to the different places where the rising was to begin, and delivered their message that the time had come. Whichever was the method, it seems clear that there was very definite pre-arrangement. Once started, the rebellious mob grew rapidly; at every place they came to they were joined by their countrymen—those who were in sympathy and those who were compelled to join by threats; those who paid their hut tax and those who had not paid. The more resolute pressed on the less resolute to join in the war, and the stronger natures had their way. The police station at Bandajuma, which was also the headquarters of the District Commissioner, was attacked, as was also that at Kwallu. The attacks, which seem to have had little system, were repelled with very little casualty on the side of the defenders.

In order to provide for the defence of the Colony, owing to the insurrection in the Protectorate, and the consequent necessity for sending most of the regular troops to the front, it became necessary to pass an Ordinance in the Legislative Council on 4th May, 1898, to organise and establish a Volunteer Force for the internal defence and protection of the Colony.

The Governor was authorised to make rules, etc., for the discipline of the force, and its members were required to take oath to serve until incapacitated by age, infirmity, or otherwise, unless they should sooner resign, be discharged, or quit the Colony.

100 Volunteers were enrolled and did good service in patrolling the town at night, but the Corps was disbanded by Proclamation on 15th September after the suppression of the insurrection.

The disturbances in the Mendi country was quelled by two military expeditions. The first of these, under

Colonel Woodgate, left Freetown on 9th of May, and the second, under Colonel Cunningham, on 31st May. Active preparations then practically ceased, except in the Karri country, where Bai Bureh was a fugitive with a few followers.

Bai Bureh was finally captured and deported to the Gold Coast as a political prisoner.

On 27th May "The Insurgents' Temporary Detention Order, 1898," was passed in the Legislative Council. This Ordinance empowered the Governor to apprehend and detain persons suspected of conspiring against Her Majesty's Government, until due inquiry could be made for the purpose of bringing them to justice in the ordinary course of law.

To provide for sittings of the Supreme Court for the trial of criminal offences arising within the Protectorate of Sierra Leone at such places in the Colony or Protectorate and at such times as should be appointed, and also for the trial of cases in the Protectorate by the Court and Assessors, an Ordinance was passed in the Legislative Council on 2nd September to amend "The Supreme Court Ordinance, 1881."

This Ordinance also provided for the expression "Court" including a Deputy Judge, and for the appointment of a Deputy Sheriff and Deputy Master.

The insurgent Chiefs and Headmen were tried at sessions of the Supreme Court held at Bonthe (Sherbro) and Kwalu and Bandajuma (in the Protectorate), by Mr. G. A. Bonner, who was sent out from England and appointed a Deputy Judge for the purpose.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies stated in the House of Commons on 18th May, 1899, that 229 natives were tried on capital charges arising out of the insurrection. Of these 77 were undefended, of whom 69 were convicted, and of these 33 were executed.

He further stated that the Colonial Government endeavoured in every case to obtain counsel for the prisoners, but the local practitioners, who were natives, were unwilling to be engaged. They declined to appear, but why he could not say, and it was impossible to provide for the defence in all cases.

In the following month the Bar Association of Sierra Leone addressed the Secretary of State on the subject of the statement made by him, which the Association

described as inaccurate, stating their strong conviction that the Colonial Government, despite what may be deemed to have been its attitude to the contrary, was substantially indisposed to secure the services of any local practitioner for the defence of prisoners in the Protectorate, and they regarded the answers given in the House as calculated to convey an unwarranted slur on the practising members of the Bar in the Colony who were negroes. The Association also pointed out that subsequent to the enactment of the Protectorate Ordinance, 1896, and prior to the massacres in the Sierra Leone Protectorate accused persons who were to the full knowledge of the Colonial Government tried, convicted, and two of them executed for murder in the Protectorate, were undefended by counsel because the Government did not attempt to provide counsel for them.

The Secretary of State, in acknowledging the letter from the Bar Association, requested the members to be informed that he had no intention of conveying any slur upon them: that he now understood from the information furnished that all the members of the Bar except two were approached on the subject of defending the prisoners, and that the reason why the Bar were unwilling was that they had other engagements, or that they did not consider the remuneration offered to be sufficient.

That the fate of native prisoners arraigned on capital charges, and who were ignorant both of the English language and the usages of British Courts of Law should be at the mercy, so to speak, of salaried native interpreters, owing to the question of fees, reflects little credit upon either the Executive Government or the Bar of Sierra Leone.

In matters such as this, one does not look for sympathetic administration in Crown Colonies, but we think that the British Colonies must be few where the Bar would be unwilling to defend helpless prisoners because the pound of flesh was not forthcoming.

The insurrection led to a Commissioner being appointed to inquire generally into the state of affairs in the Colony and Protectorate.

Sir David Chalmers, who had filled various judicial offices at the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast,

during the years 1867-78, was selected by the Secretary of State for this service, and he was directed to inquire into the truth of the allegations that the insurrection at its commencement was caused by the imposition of a hut tax which was obnoxious to the natives and by the improper steps taken to enforce its collection by the Frontier Police.

The necessity for imposing the hut tax, the extension of murder and outrage into the Colony, and the operations of the Secret Societies were also to be enquired into.

Sir David Chalmers reached Sierra Leone on 18th July, 1898, before the disturbances were at an end, and on 3rd August an Ordinance was passed in the Legislative Council conferring certain powers on him necessary to carry on his inquiry. The inquiry occupied four months, and the Royal Commissioner's report,* furnished after his return home to Scotland, is dated 21st January, 1899.

After going over a vast amount of evidence, he concluded that if it was advisable to impose a hut tax it should not have been imposed in the Protectorate until it was also imposed in the Colony and until it had been arranged that a municipal rate in Freetown should contemporaneously come into operation.

The tax was obnoxious to the customs and feelings of the people, there was a widespread belief that it was a means of taking away their rights in their country and in their property, and repugnance to the tax was much aggravated by the sudden, uncompromising, and harsh methods by which it was endeavoured to be brought into operation, not merely by the acts of native policemen, but in the whole scheme adopted by the Colonial authorities.

Other causes of discontent felt by the Chiefs and people were the diminution of the Chief's jurisdiction, the lowering of their status by the arbitrary appointment by the Government of men as Chiefs having no right, according to native law or usage, to the position, and the clauses of the first Protectorate Ordinance for the appropriating and giving away of lands, the repeal of which was never sufficiently explained.

* *Vide* Blue Book, c. 9388, dated July, 1899.

The Royal Commissioner recommended :—

That a general amnesty should be proclaimed for all engaged, or suspected of having been engaged, in the insurrection, and that all punitive expeditions should cease.

That "The Insurgents' Detention Ordinance" of 1898, giving the Governor power to arrest and imprison by a simple order for an indefinite period without legal evidence, should be immediately repealed.

That the scheme of administration by District Commissioners as Magistrates should be discarded, the District Commissioners not knowing the native laws or the languages of the Protectorate, and instead a regulated administration through the Chiefs founded.

That small police posts or stations be done away with.

That District Commissioners, having the character of Residents or Government Agents, to assist and advise the Chief rather than perform the duties of magistrates or deputy governors of districts.

That the Government give grants in aid to missions.

That the hut tax should be discontinued.

Summarising in outline the policy recommended by the Royal Commissioner, it would be as follows:—

Let the causes of irritation be removed and endeavour be made by every means to restore the confidence which has been destroyed or grievously shaken; let the Colonial officers, from the very highest to the lowest subordinate, realise that the subjects of a Protectorate *have rights*, and that it should be a work of forbearance and patience, rather than of overpowering force, to instruct them that they also have obligations and duties towards the protecting power; let government be on fixed principles of justice, not by haphazard opportunism; let the Chiefs be restored to their place in the country, a wise supervision being exercised over them with a minimum of interference, and the substitution being encouraged of agricultural and other industries for idleness, or tribal or personal contests: let the civilising influences of well directed missionary teaching be encouraged: let wise and sympathetic government be the primary object, and we may be assured that with the gradual raising of the level of civilisation, and the increase of population, and of the industry which such

government will bring with it, revenue for all needs will follow, whilst endeavours to compel revenue by short-sighted and unsuitable means must inevitably result in failure.

The report was sent to Governor Cardew for his observations, and in a lengthy document dated 1st May, 1899, he traversed the Royal Commissioner's statements of facts and deductions and defended the policy of the hut tax and the means taken by the Government for its enforcement. Generally it may be said that on all points it states conclusions the opposite to those of the Commissioner.

In concluding his report, Governor Cardew stated that while not desiring to shift the burden of the responsibility for all that had passed on any shoulders from his own, he hoped it might not be thought that he lightly or recklessly entered on the task before him. He had given to the policy initiated by him his most anxious and careful consideration, and it was in the sense of his deep conviction that it was absolutely necessary for the financial prosperity of the Colony that induced him to apply it.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies had to decide between the Governor and the Royal Commissioner.

In a long Despatch, dated 7th July, 1899, Mr. Secretary Chamberlain reviews the Report and counter observations, and while expressing his appreciation of the valuable number of facts elicited by Sir David Chalmers, dissented from the principal recommendations which the latter made in his report, and concludes in favour of Sir Frederic Cardew and for a continuance of the policy which had caused or had been made the pretext for the insurrection.

Mr. Chamberlain regarded the disaffection in the Protectorate as due to the serious political and social changes brought about by the extension of civilisation, especially in its effects upon slavery and slave raiding. He indicates the views at which he arrived with regard to the Frontier Police, the District Commissioners, and the question of Taxation, and in expressing regret at the loss of so many lives, he states in view of what happened it was evident that, in the measures which were taken with his approval to carry into effect the policy embodied in the Protectorate Ordinance, some mistakes

were made. He saw, however, no reason to doubt that the policy was right in its main outlines.

A general amnesty was proclaimed, subject to a few special exceptions.

In regard to this insurrection throughout the hinterland of Sierra Leone, there can be little doubt but that the harsh methods adopted to collect the hut tax, crowned chiefs being treated as felons for neglecting, delaying, or refusing to pay the tax, was the main cause which led to it.

The Chiefs felt also that the dividing of their country into districts supervised by Government Commissioners and patrolled by the Frontier Police, the suppression of a trade in slaves, and the disposition of their lands (the repeal of the Clauses in first Protectorate Ordinance relating to lands not having been sufficiently explained to the chiefs), meant to them not only an interference with their rights of jurisdiction over their people, but probably the final loss of their country.

Further than this, the Frontier Police were a cause of offence by the arbitrary manner in which they at times performed their duties. Many of the men had probably been slaves to Chiefs to whom they were sent with messages, in whose districts they were stationed, and it was admitted that cases had occurred, when away from the controlling influence of their officers, where they had behaved with an arrogance and impertinence well calculated to create ill-feeling, they themselves knowing well that the Government uniform protected them.

It would undoubtedly have been better had the question of taxation been approached more diplomatically. Several attempts had been made by the Government to establish direct taxation in the Colony, and the natives dislike to it was well known. Everyone who has had dealings with African natives knows that in all questions under discussion great patience and tact is necessary to obtain a clear understanding and settlement of the matter in hand. "Palavers" must be held frequently, and everything gone into over and over again, every point raised being explained and made clear again and again. This, of course, takes time, but it is useless to pass an Ordinance and put it into force at once, and expect the natives of the Protectorate to

acquiesce in the same way as the natives of the Colony, who have been accustomed to Government methods for a century.

In this case these methods do not seem to have been adopted, as it does not appear that Governor Cardew during his visit to the interior in 1896, when he explained his policy which was afterwards embraced in the Protectorate Ordinance, included in his discussions with the Chiefs the intended taxation as a matter of importance to which their consent was desirable. In fact, though the point was mentioned by Sir F. Cardew, it seems to have been treated as a matter to which they would readily assent, which was undoubtedly a mistake. Thus when the hut tax was made law, though certain modifications were made in regard to it, it became the starting point for the expression of dissatisfaction with regard to other points.

There can be no doubt in the mind of the student of his report that Sir D. Chalmers carried out his enquiry with the ability expected of him. At the same time it does not appear to us that he obtained all the information he might have acquired. In some cases, as in that relating to Captain Moore, he failed to raise any question as to a matter he commented very severely upon, when the person referred to was before him as a witness, and it is no matter of surprise that the Secretary of State held that such charges as were made against the District Commissioners and others could not be sustained.

It is clear that the Government anticipated no *active* opposition to the payment of the hut tax, as the force on the spot was nowhere sufficient to control any hostile resistance of natives in the event of such taking place.

When active opposition to the collection of the tax was exhibited, *force* was the factor relied on for success, and the opinion of the Royal Commissioner was that: "Though military men have some valuable qualifications for service as Colonial Governors and District Officers, there is danger in allowing their influence and ideas to be paramount. It is perhaps natural that if exact obedience by the people under their authority is not instantaneous, men of military training consider an immediate resort to compulsion by force the inevitable sequence." The Royal Commissioner was also of opinion that the arrests and imprisonments of the Chiefs were

not legal under the law of the Protectorate Ordinance or any other law under which the District Commissioner was authorised to act, and with regard to the expedition into Kwaia (Quiah), he states there is no report of any of the Frontier Police having received so much as a scratch during the operations, and he considered that the expedition went beyond anything necessary in a military or repressive point of view.

Owing to the financial needs of the Colony, due to increased expenditure, caused principally by the employment of a large force of armed police in the Protectorate, and the construction of the Government Railway, the Secretary of State approved of additional revenue by direct taxation in the Protectorate being raised. Whether this time had arrived when the natives of the Hinterland should be taxed at all must remain a question of personal opinion. Whatever that opinion may be, however, no one can deny that it is clearly their duty to contribute in some way towards the well-being of their country and assisting the Government in suppressing turbulence, promoting commerce, and protecting their borders from aggression. All this is undertaken by the protecting Power, and every nation must eventually give the necessary aid by the simple method of taxation. In the neighbouring countries under the French Government this is done, and judging from the fact that the house tax in the Protectorate has increased from £6,341 in 1898, the first year of its collection, and of the disturbances following, to £30,046 in 1900, it is reasonable to suppose that the tax is now acquiesced in, even if it is disliked. In that matter, however, they only show the dislike to taxation common to the people of other countries; but we hope that they will share in the increasing prosperity of Sierra Leone which seems probable, and so learn eventually to regard it, as other races do, as a necessary evil.

Half a century ago (October, 1849), upon the reading of the Estimates of the Colony for the year 1850 in the Legislative Council, the subject of transferring the Colonial Church of St. George's to the Church Missionary Society was brought before the Council.

Mr. James Hook (Commissioner of Arbitration 1843) differed from the rest of the Council as to this proposal. He considered that it would be unbecoming in the

Governor and Council, without any sufficient reason, to propose to the Secretary of State to abolish the office of Colonial and Garrison Chaplain, whose presence was so much needed in a sickly colony, and to give up the noble Church, which cost the Government upwards of 80,000 dollars, to a Missionary Society, a society not of the Church of England,* and whose missionaries were chiefly foreigners, speaking a sort of patois English difficult to be understood, though they were successfully carrying on a great and good work among the negroes.

Mr. Hook, in conclusion, remarked that if the proposition were adopted, its effects would be the expulsion of the only regular Minister of the National Church from the Colony.

Acting Governor Pine reported to the Secretary of State that he was in favour of the arrangement, on account of the difficulty sometimes experienced in getting a suitable person to do duty in the Church during the absence of the Chaplain, and because he had perceived that whilst the Churches of the Missionary Society in the town were crowded, the Government Church was almost deserted.

The only objection the Acting Governor could see to the adoption of the proposal was that it would excite the jealousy of the Wesleyans and other Dissenters.

By transferring St. George's to the Missionaries, we should supply them with a very large Church in the centre of the town and save them the expense of building, which in the present pecuniary condition of the society was a great object; and owing to the advantages which the Church Missionary Society enjoyed as an organised and permanent association they would be enabled to fill it, and so afford religious instruction to from 1,500 to 2,000 persons.

The congregation of St. George's, exclusive of the soldiers and school children, was generally about 150, though it was capable of containing at least 1,500 persons.

The Secretary of State, in reply, stated that as the office of Colonial Chaplain was not vacant, the Acting Governor's proposal with reference to that office, which

* The clergy of the Church Missionary Society observed the doctrines and ritual of the Church of England.

appeared to deserve consideration whenever a vacancy might occur, could not at that time be entertained.

As stated in Chapter XII., the Colony of Sierra Leone was created a Bishop's See or Diocese by Letters Patent of 22nd May, 1852, and St. George's then became the Cathedral Church though still remaining the property of the Crown.

Owing to the revocation of Letters Patent dated 22nd May, 1852, under which the Bishops of Sierra Leone had been appointed, and to enable the Government to hand over the Cathedral to a Cathedral Chapter, an Ordinance passed the Legislative Council on 4th November, 1898, to incorporate the Cathedral Church of St. George at Freetown, to vest the said Cathedral in the said Chapter and for other purposes in connection therewith.

In this Ordinance it was enacted that the building was transferred for the sole and express purpose of a Cathedral Church, that Divine worship according to the use of the Church of England should be performed and carried on in accordance with the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England; and that if at any time the said Cathedral ceased to be used as a Church, or Divine worship and the services usual in the Church of England ceased to be performed and carried on therein, the Cathedral and its precincts should revert to and again become the absolute property of the Crown.

After the suppression of the insurrection it was considered necessary to establish a Colonial Military Force of natives of West Africa available for immediate service within the Colony and Protectorate or elsewhere under the Governor's direction. Accordingly, an Ordinance entitled "The West African Enlistment Ordinance, 1898," passed the Legislative Council on 21st December.

This Ordinance enacts that the members of the force shall be sworn to act as a military force for the defence of the Colony and Protectorate, and for the suppression of tumults, insurrections, riots, affrays, and breaches of the peace therein; and the Governor may direct the employment and distribution of the force either within or without the limits of the Colony or Protectorate as he shall think fit.

The Regiment,* called "The 1st Battalion West African Regiment," was organised under authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in conjunction with the War Office, and was recruited from the tribes of the Protectorate, chiefly Mendis and Timinis, the officers being appointed from European regiments.

As it was necessary to emphasise the idea of British authority and prestige in the remoter parts of the Protectorate, where the face of the white man was hardly known, and the only evidence of British power had been the passing of an occasional small detachment of Frontier Police, it was decided to send small expeditionary columns, each consisting of a Company of the West African Regiment and a small detachment of Artillery, throughout the length and breadth of the Protectorate.

These columns started from Porto Lokkoh, Freetown and Bonthe respectively, the advance commencing in December, 1898. The marches were timed for the various columns to concentrate simultaneously along the Anglo-Liberian frontier east of Pangonia, across which the Kissis—a formidable tribe in Liberian territory, and amongst whom certain insurgent Chiefs had taken refuge—were reported to be threatening to invade the Protectorate. This report was subsequently confirmed by the Kissis actually raiding across our frontier, but as they did so they were caught on three sides by the converging columns, and, after some resistance, driven back and followed up into their own country, and their capital and other towns burnt.

The columns all returned to Freetown by the end of February, 1899.

* It may be interesting to note the composition of a part of this Regiment stationed at Head Quarters, Sierra Leone, in June, 1899, which was as follows:—

Timini	..	200	Griness	..	1
Mendi	..	199	Benin	..	1
Joloff	..	45	Bissau (Portuguese)	..	2
Susu	..	35	Creole (W. Indian)	..	1
Lokkoh	..	20	Yonnies	..	1
Limba	..	16	Gallinas	..	2
Sierra Leoneans	..	17	Mandingo	..	9
Sherbro	..	18	Senegalese	..	2
Liberians	..	5	Congo Tribe	..	1

Total, 575

Our losses during the suppression of the disturbances and the subsequent military expeditions were: —

KILLED.

4 European Officers, 65 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, 92 Native Carriers.

WOUNDED.

23 European Officers, 184 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, 58 Native Carriers.

Governor Cardew proceeded to England in April, 1899, on six months' leave, and during his absence the Government was administered by Major M. Nathan, C.M.G., Royal Engineers, who was selected by the Secretary of State for that office.

On May Day, 1899, a gala day in the history of the Colony, the first section of the Government railway from Freetown to Songo Town, a distance of 32 miles, was formally opened for public traffic by Acting Governor Nathan. Its construction was commenced in January, 1896, and it is the first railway opened for traffic in the British West African colonies.* The railway will develop the resources of the country through which it passes, and it will also serve to keep the districts it traverses free from trouble and disturbance, by enabling a force to be rapidly transported to the support of law and order.

The line is now being continued to Ro-Tofunk, a distance of 25 miles from Songo Town, and a further extension is under consideration.

In August, 1899, the Mohammedans at Foulah Town opened an elementary school under the auspices of Governor Nathan, in which Arabic and English will be taught their children. In the address thanking Governor Nathan for his presence and the interest taken by him, like many of his predecessors, in the matter of Mohammedan education, it was remarked that this was the first time in the history of Islam in Sierra Leone that the Governor of the Colony had attended in person

* The French have lines of railway working between St. Louis and Dakar, as well as in the upper reaches of the Niger. There is also a line open for traffic in the Congo Free State.

the inauguration of a Mohammedan School for Mohammedans.

Grateful mention was also made of the protection of the British Government, of Governor Pope Hennessey's attendance in 1872 at the religious festival of the Lesser Bairam at Fourah Bay, Governor Rowe's entertainment at Government House in 1879 of 700 Muslims on the day of the festival at Bairam and Governor Hay's handing over in 1891 to the Muslims of Fourah Bay, Pratt's Farm, with its commodious buildings, for the education of Muslim youth, and a grant to the School for the payment of teachers.

The Governor in reply to an address embodying the above, wished the school every success, and hoped that it would soon become a centre of Mohammedan education. He also pointed out that it would be of great advantage to them if in addition to the study of Arabic and the literature of that language, they also induced their scholars to read English books, illustrating his remarks with instances of the benefit it had been to the natives both of India and Egypt to speak English and study the learning contained in English works. Not only would they thus become acquainted with the learning of other nations, but he hoped that they would also become good English subjects whilst remaining good Mohammedans, between which things there was nothing incompatible.

An application having been made for a license to search for pearls in Colonial waters, some having been found, it was reported, in the waters about the Sherbro River, and the Government being desirous of establishing a new industry, an Ordinance was passed in the Legislative Council at the beginning of the year (1900) for the development of Pearl Fishery in the Colony.

Up to the close of the year, however, there was no *official* report that pearl oysters had been found in the Colony.

To enable the Government to impose a house tax in the Colony outside the municipal limits of Freetown (the city being already taxed), an Ordinance, No. 11, for raising this tax was passed in the Legislative Council.

The Ordinance provides for the money so raised being applied only for the benefit of the Districts con-

cerned—the Colony being divided into eleven districts—under local boards, who will advise the Governor in Council in regard to the special requirements within their districts.

On completion of his six years as Governor, Sir Frederic Cardew left finally for England on the 26th November, 1900.

Of Governor Cardew's administration it may be said that he did much to advance education and agriculture, and to improve the social condition of the Colony generally. His fostering care of the railway project, which took practical effect during his tenure of office, cannot fail eventually to assist in promoting the prosperity of Sierra Leone.

Upon Governor Cardew's departure, Colonel J. E. Caulfield, Officer Commanding the Troops, took charge of the Government until the arrival in the Colony a fortnight later of Sir C. A. King-Harman, K.C.M.G., late Administrator and Colonial Secretary of St. Lucia, West Indies, who had been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Sierra Leone.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE COLONY IN 1900.

Revenue—Expenditure—Assets and Liabilities—Currency—Imports—Exports—Shipping—Savings Bank—Postal—Telegraph—Telephone—Manufactures—Mines—Agricultural Industries—Land Grants—Education—Hospitals—Judicial—Police Force—Prisons—Population—Climate—Temperature—Rainfall—Railway—Roads—Immigration—Emigration—Labour—Criminal Statistics—Military Forces—General Condition of the Colony.

HAVING now closed the historical portion of our work to the end of the last century, it will be interesting to note the position of the Colony at that date.

If the progress has been somewhat slow from its first settlement the causes have been very apparent, but now that the Colony has developed into a Settlement of about 100,000 inhabitants, with a Hinterland within definite borders of 30,000 square miles, and a population of about 1,000,000, it is hoped that the day is not distant when a greater state of prosperity may be looked for.

The financial condition of the Colony may be considered fairly satisfactory when we remember how long it was in debt.

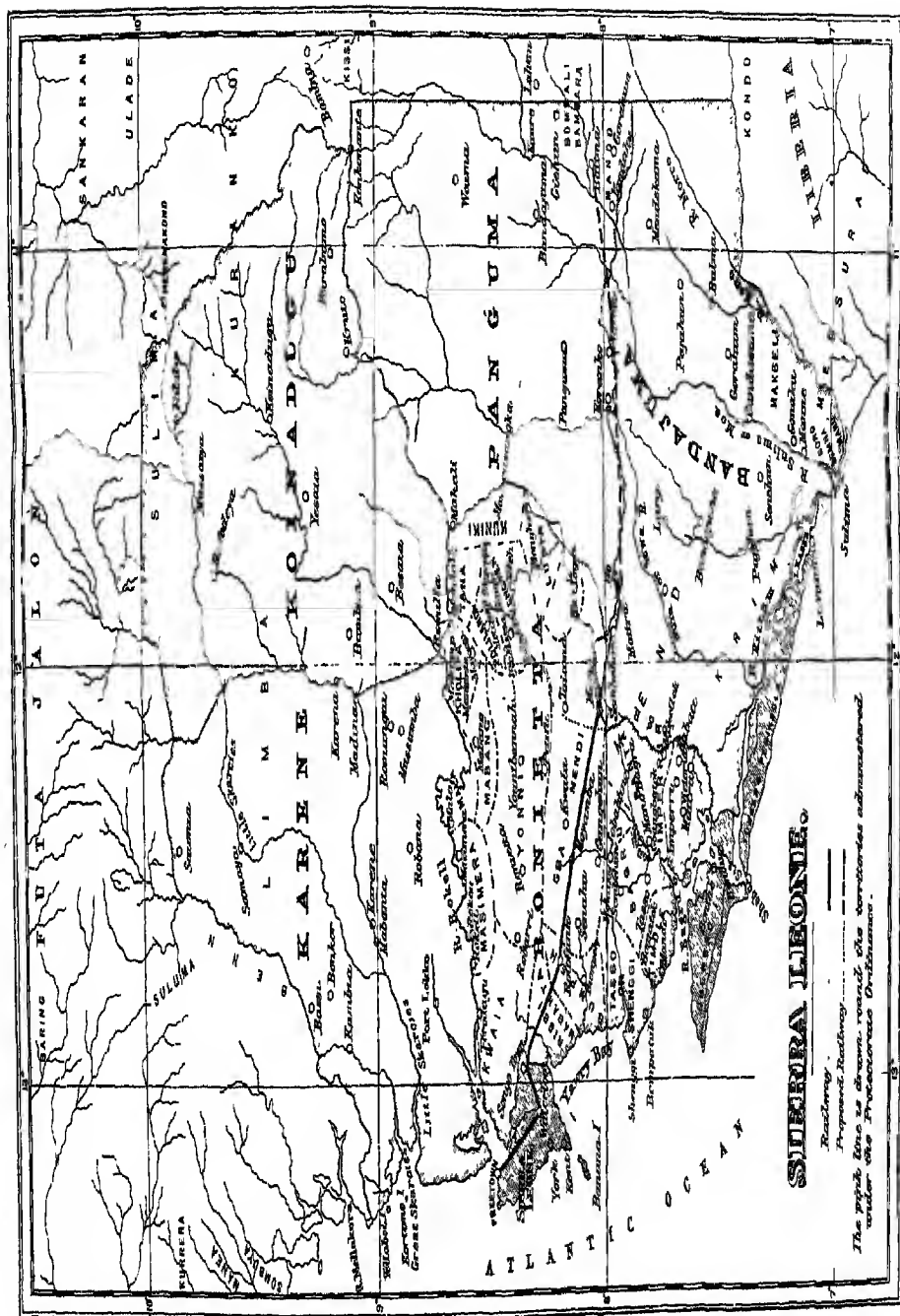
The revenue of the Colony for the year 1900 amounted to £168,668, being the highest on record, the Customs receipts forming about three-fifths of the total sum. The receipts under Protectorate, £33,468, are chiefly responsible for the larger revenue of 1900.

The expenditure amounted to £156,421, being £12,247 within the year's revenue.

The payment for maintenance under the heads of Frontier Police, £22,127, and Protectorate, £17,000, exceeded the Protectorate receipts by £5,659; but there is every prospect of increased revenue when the whole of the districts have been thoroughly assessed.

There was a surplus of assets over liabilities of £2,606 at the close of the year.

In the Colony the general currency is British sterling—silver and gold. French gold Napoleons and silver five-franc pieces are also current, being passed at



made to divert to French posts the caravans bringing it from the interior.

The direction of the export trade is about one-third of the total to Great Britain, to Germany and France another third, and to Gambia, other British Colonies, and foreign places on the coast of Africa, the remaining third. The export trade with France shows signs of disappearing, and that with the United States of America has vanished. Germany's chief demand is for palm kernels.

During the year 1900, the shipping entered was as follows:—300 sailing vessels, total tonnage, 6,753; steam vessels, 421; total tonnage, 653,788. More than one-half of the number of sailing vessels and four-fifths of the steamers being British.

There are two Savings Banks attached to the Post Office Department: one is in Freetown and the other in Bonthe, Sherbro. Deposits are received from one shilling upwards, and interest paid at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. At the close of the year 1900 the sum due to depositors was £48,937, which shows that this institution is much appreciated by the public.

The receipts of the Postal Department for the year 1900 amounted to £2,877, the expenditure being £4,431; net deficit, £1,554. This is due chiefly to the introduction on 25th December, 1898, of the penny postage, but in time the revenue will recover from this reduction by a larger bulk of postal matters being sent.

There is a telegraph service in conjunction with the railway as far as Rotifunk, 55 miles from Freetown.

There is a telephone service in connection with Government House, the Secretariat, the Police Stations, and the Barracks.

Little is done in the way of manufacture. Mineral waters are made in Freetown and country cloths are made in the Protectorate from native grown cotton, dyed from the indigo plant, and also from yarn imported from Europe entirely for native use.

There are no mines.

Agriculture is very primitive still, in fact has little improved in method since Colonel Denham's days.

Rice, cassada, and ginger are planted, also agousi, benni seed, and ground nuts. The oil palm, rubber, gum and kola nut are indigenous.

Towards the end of the year 1895, a Botanical station was opened in Freetown for the cultivation of plants and a Curator was appointed.

In 1899 an Experimental Farm was established at Songo Town in connection with the Freetown station. A large number of rubber trees have been planted, also kolas, oranges, etc. Coffee grows freely, both the Sierra Leone and Liberian variety, one of the best known. Cinnamon, kola, and cocoa have done well in the nursery at the Botanic Station, and a greater portion of these plants have been transferred to the Songo Town farm for experiments. No doubt cocoa would pay well if properly cultivated.

Fruit might be cultivated for export, such as pines, bananas, oranges, and limes, but the great drawback to such an industry is the want of regular and rapid steamship transport to Europe. This doubtless would be furnished readily were the material forthcoming and the fruit properly packed.

It is *most important* that a portion of the people should become agriculturists and develop the capabilities of the soil, abandoning the too common practice of becoming small *traders* to the detriment of that branch of employment.

In regard to land grants in the Colony, the Governor is the authority empowered to grant waste land.

In the Peninsula and Isles de Los, town or village lots are sold by public auction at an upset price of twenty shillings; suburban, at an upset price of ten shillings; and country lands at an upset price of four shillings and two pence per acre.

At Sherbro, town lots are sold in such manner as the Governor may direct; suburban lots at an upset price of ten shillings, and country lands at an upset price of eight shillings.

There is great necessity for increased effort in the direction of education, still, as the following remarks will show, particularly in the direction of technical instruction of every kind.

The Primary Schools belong to the various denominational bodies. The number under the "Education Rules" and inspected for grants during the year 1899 (latest return) was 77. The total number of children on the roll was 8,103; the percentage of the average

attendance to the roll number being 69·8. The annual grant earned amounted to £1,394, and according to the manager's returns the sums spent on the schools amounted to £3,130.

Of the number presented for examination, viz., 2,697 in all standards, the passes amounted to 1,435, or a percentage of 53·2.

This total average percentage is very low, and calls for greater efforts on the part of the teaching staff.

New Education Rules came into operation at the beginning of 1900, and with them the establishment of a training college for teachers, and it is hoped that this step will supply sufficient teachers in the near future, and so increase the efficiency of the instruction given.

There are some thirty-one Mission Schools in the Protectorate under the Society in America of the United Brethren in Christ, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church of England, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, but the number of scholars on the roll and the average attendance in these schools, is not in all cases given.

There are six schools of this class in the Colony, viz., three for boys and three for girls. Five of the schools are denominational, and one undenominational, which is self-supporting.

Fourah Bay College, founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1827, and affiliated to the University of Durham in 1876, provides a higher education for the upper classes. Its curriculum embraces a theological course for a license in Theology and an Arts course for the B.A. degree.

A school for Technical Education was opened in 1896. Under Government auspices, the course of free lectures to artizans on building construction, etc., commenced in 1898, was renewed in 1899 and 1900. Courses in other trades will doubtless be commenced as occasion demands.

The Government institutions are the General Hospital in Freetown, a Hospital at Bonthe (Sherbro), a Small-pox Hospital at Kissy, near Freetown, one at Bonthe, a Lunatic Asylum at Kissy, and a Hospital for Incurables at the same place. Besides these Government Institutions, there is a small hospital (the Princess Cottage Hospital), with a private ward for paying

patients, which is a Church of England Diocesan Institution, and to which the Government gives an annual grant of £50 per annum. This admirable institution is under the supervision of European nurses. In the out-districts of the Colony there are several dispensaries, and in the five Protectorate Districts a small hospital in each.

There are no Government poor-houses or other charitable institutions. The Government confines its action in the matter of assisting the poor to the annual grant of a sum of £400, which is administered for their relief by three Charity Commissioners, of whom one is a Government official.

The laws of England run in the Colony* together with the Ordinances dealing with local necessities which are passed from time to time. There is, however, no trial by jury in civil suits, etc., owing to circumstances detailed in Chapters XIII. and XV., and though complaints on this head appear in local Press, we cannot trace that it has been latterly a subject of petition to the Secretary of State.

There is a Supreme Court presided over by the Chief Justice, and minor cases are tried by the Police Magistrate of Freetown, and by the District Commissioners of Sherbro, the Eastern and the Western Districts.

For administrative purposes, the Protectorate is divided into five districts, Karene, Ronietta, Bandajuma, Pangoma, and Koinadugu, and Courts of Law are established in each district under "The Protectorate Ordinance, 1896," referred to in Chapter XIX.

There are two bodies of Police for the protection of the Colony. The strength of the Civil Police used for the Colony only is one Superintendent, one Inspector, one Sub-Inspector, 21 Serjeants, 232 Constables, and 11 Water Police. Total, 267.

The Protectorate is policed by a semi-military body called the Frontier Police. The strength of this force, organised into five Companies, *i.e.*, one Company for each of the five Protectorate Districts, is one Inspector-General, six Inspectors, ten Assistant Inspectors, two Sub-Inspectors, 594 non-commissioned Officers and Privates, and eight Clerks. Total, 621.

There are three prisons in the Colony: one at Free-

* *Vide Ordinance of 29th May, 1862, Chap. XII.*

town, one at Sherbro, and a very small one at Waterloo in the Eastern District. The Freetown Prison has twenty-eight wards and eight cells.

Of the total number (453) committed to the Freetown Prison in 1900, 414 were men, 31 women, and 8 juveniles. The daily average in prison was 171, the daily average on the sick list 17, and the number of deaths was seven.

Boots, clothing, etc., for Police and other Government Departments are made in the prison. The prisoners' earnings for 1900 amounted to £1,740.

The last Census was taken in 1891, and showed a population in the Colony of 74,835, of which 224 were Europeans. The present population may be estimated at about 100,000. The population in the Protectorate is roughly estimated at 1,000,000.

Among Europeans the deaths in 1900 numbered sixteen. This was above the average of the previous five years.

The depressing character of the climate is well-known and in spite of sanitary arrangements now in force cannot be said to improve greatly. The periods which are considered the most unhealthy are from April to June, and from October to the end of November, *i.e.*, when the "dries" change to the "rains" and the "rains" to the "dries." During the dry season, in January and February, a hot easterly breeze blows from the Sahara, called the "harmattan," which is considered rather trying by the natives, causing, as it often does, colds and coughs; but to most Europeans it is considered fairly healthy.

In 1900 the extreme range of temperature was 25° Fahr., the minimum being 67° and the maximum 92°, while the average minimum was 68° and the average maximum 89°, giving a mean range of 21°. On the hills behind Freetown the temperature is, of course, less, and the nights are much cooler, and it is undoubtedly on these hills, and not in Freetown itself, as at present, that the European population of the city and those who desire to keep comparatively free from malaria, should have their residences. At Panguma and in the Koinadugu District of the Protectorate the range of temperature is greater and the nights are cooler than in Freetown.

In Freetown the rainfall in 1900 was 175·43 inches, being above the average of about 174 for the preceding nineteen years. The greatest fall was in June, and reached 41·36 inches.

The first section of the Sierra Leone Railway extending as far as Songo Town, a distance of 32 miles, was formally opened for traffic on the 1st May, 1899. In 1900, in the latter part of the year, the extension to Rotifunk (23½ miles from Songo Town) was taken over by the open line and is being used for traffic three times a week, although it has not been officially opened to the public, as it was not considered to be quite in open line order.

The general result of the half-year's working to 30th June, 1900, on the 32 miles open was:—Expenses, £6,857; earnings, £4,892, showing a net loss of £1,965, but as traffic is developed the earnings of the line will grow.

Except in Freetown, there are no metalled roads either in the Colony or Protectorate, and up to the opening of the railway all produce and merchandise had to be transported on men's heads. Given hard roads suitable for vehicles it is still very doubtful whether draft animals, either oxen or mules, could live and work in the climate of Sierra Leone, though probably they could be used in some districts of the hinterland.

There is a great influx into the Colony from the Protectorate annually of natives seeking labour after their crops have been harvested, and until it is time for them to return home to prepare their farms for the ensuing crop. This period extends from about the end of October till March. A portion of these natives remain and take up their abode in the Colony.

A considerable number of natives still emigrate down the coast seeking labour at the Congo and elsewhere; but the majority of these usually return after an absence of from two to three years.

The rates of wages for native labour in Freetown vary from 15s. to 30s. a month. The rate for labourers on the railway is 9d. a day, and carriers employed by the Imperial Government and the Colonial Government in the Protectorate receive 1s. per day.

It is probable that traders, particularly natives, pay much less.

There has been a considerable decrease in crime in the Colony in 1900 as compared with previous years, and considering the variety and more or less civilised condition of the inhabitants of the country this state of affairs is not bad.

The summary convictions for larceny in 1900 were 296.

There were 180 convictions for offences against the person, for offences against property other than larceny one case only, and for other offences 310.

In the Supreme Court the number of persons committed for trial was 45, of whom six were discharged on the cases against them falling through for want of prosecution, 16 were acquitted, and 23 were convicted for various offences, *i.e.*, one for murder, one manslaughter, three other offences against the person, two robbery with violence, 11 praedial larceny, two other offences against property, and three for miscellaneous offences.

The Colony does not contribute to the upkeep of the regular forces in the command which consist of a detachment of Royal Artillery, a native Battery of West African Artillery, Fortress Engineers, and a Battalion of the West Indian and West African Regiments.

The harbour of Sierra Leone is far the best in West Africa, and it has been strongly fortified as a coaling station for the Royal Navy on the Cape route to India.

The Governor's Report on the condition of Sierra Leone furnished in May, 1901, gives on the whole a satisfactory description of the state of the Colony at the close of the year 1900, and in the Protectorate everything was quiet.

The foregoing statements give us a picture of the Colony of Sierra Leone which is, to say the least, striking. Founded in 1787 with a few slaves from America, wrecked by native and foreign invasion, neglected by the Government, and subjected to hostile opposition from the powerful body of planters interested in the supply of slaves to the West Indies, its progress retarded over and over again by the deaths or removal of its rulers, in spite of all this and the refusal of the British Government to permit any expansion, a course which has limited its hinterland, and circumscribed its trade and its future commercial prosperity, we have seen

it grow steadily into what it has become to-day. How different might the case have been had the French retained their hold on Gambia Island in the Rokelle River and divided with us control over the inland trade routes. Had this been done, or the House of Commons resolution of 1865 been carried out, there is hardly a doubt but that the place would have been a burden to England.

Now, at last, it will commence the twentieth century, a little more than a hundred years from the date of its foundation, with a balance in hand and a trade of the annual value of about £600,000, which it is to be hoped will increase rapidly as the hinterland becomes more and more peaceful and the value and use of European commodities become better known and appreciated.

There are two sources in particular, however, to which the Colony must look for its future advancement, trade, and agriculture. Trade will, no doubt, take care of itself, as the tendency is to follow it as an occupation too largely if anything. Agriculture, on the other hand, requires development in every direction, and it is to be hoped that every inducement will be held out for the promotion of this branch of employment. Markets for the disposal of cereals, of rice, of coffee, of any foodstuffs in fact, including foreign fruits, are daily increasing, and there is a field of prosperity in that direction, which Sierra Leone has not only not touched, but has not sufficiently developed to meet its own demands. Articles of this kind are still imported which should be grown on the spot, while many articles of value for export, such as spices, coffee, rubber, etc., are but little grown.

The Botanical Station should be a gold mine to those who know how to take advantage of the information it can give, and it is to be hoped that ere long plants will be available for distribution amongst those who will follow agriculture as a business for profit.

And who can say what other results may not arise from the prosecution of agriculture. The unhealthiness of the climate of Sierra Leone has become a proverb almost, and its best friend could hardly say that it is good. With the clearance of the land and regular tillage there is however every reason to hope for im-

provement in this direction, and another century may show a scene where the neighbouring hills are dotted with the residences of the European officials and planters where they will enjoy a climate at least as salubrious as some of the West Indian Islands, whilst the valleys are filled with maize fields, and crops of other kinds, bringing plenty and prosperity to the people of the Settlement.

A tide of action and life has set in over Africa, even over Western Africa itself, which if taken at its flood may lead to great results. But it is the people themselves who must work out their own progress their own prosperity. Let us hope they will see this for themselves, and that they will remember the example of their forbears who, in spite of opposition and difficulty, helped to place Sierra Leone in the position it occupies to-day ; and so, putting their shoulders to the work, contribute their share to the future development of their country.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

BLACK POOR—A HANDBILL.

It having been very maturely and humanely considered by what means a support might be given to the Blacks who seek the protection of this Government, it is found that no place is so fit and proper as the Grain Coast of Africa, where the necessaries of life may be supplied by the force of industry and moderate labour, and life rendered very comfortable. It has been meditated to send Blacks to Nova Scotia, but this plan is laid aside, as that country is unfit and improper for the said Blacks.

The Committee for the Black Poor accordingly recommend Henry Smeathman, Esquire, who is acquainted with this part of the coast of Africa, to take charge of all the said persons who are desirous of going with him, and to give them all fit and proper encouragement agreeably to the humanity of the British Government.

By desire of the Committee,

JONAS HANWAY, Chairman.

Batson's Coffee House, 17th May, 1786.

Those who are desirous of profiting by this opportunity of settling in one of the most pleasant and fertile countries in the known world, may apply for further information to Mr. Smeathman, the Author of the Plan, and Agent for the Settlement, at the office for Free Africans, No. 14 Cannon Street.

PLAN OF SETTLEMENT.

PLAN OF SETTLEMENT to be made near Sierra Leone, on the Grain Coast of Africa, intended more particularly for the service and happy establishment of Blacks and People of Colour, to be shipped as freemen under the direction of the Committee for Relieving the Black Poor, and under the protection of the British Government.

By Henry Smeathman, Esq., who resided in that country near 4 years.

LONDON, 1786.

Any person desirous of a permanent and comfortable establishment in a most pleasant, fertile climate, near Sierra Leone, where land may be purchased at a small expense, may have an opportunity of doing it on the following advantageous conditions:—

They will be carried out at 5 guineas each person, and supplied during the voyage with an ample and salutary allowance of provisions per week, viz.:—

5 lb. Bread.	1 lb. Pot Barley.
1 lb. Beef.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Suet.
3 lb. Pork.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Raisins.
1 pint Oatmeal.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of Peas.
$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Molasses.	2 pints of Rum for grog,
$1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. Flour.	

With a proper quantity of spices, as Pimento, Ginger, etc.

They will also be supplied with the same allowance for 3 months after their arrival on the Coast, which is as long a time as will be necessary for their safe establishment; the same will cost at the rate of £3 15s. each person.

Those who have money, and can afford to go as steerage, steward room, or cabin passengers, will be accommodated accordingly.

As soon as possible after their arrival on the coast, a certain district of land will be purchased for the community of settlers, to be their joint property—the most convenient that can be found for procuring the several advantages for which the settlement is intended.

When the land is purchased, which may be done within a few days after their arrival, a township will be marked out, and houses run up by the joint labour of the whole, for immediate shelter. This may easily be effected in that country, the climate not requiring either compact or durable houses; a slight hut is sufficient shelter for the severest season of the year, and the materials for building are so near at hand that a company of 10 or 12 men may erect very comfortable habitations for themselves and their families in a few days.

Such are the mildness and fertility of the climate and country, that a man possessed of a change of clothing, a wood axe, a hoe, and a pocket knife, may soon place himself in an easy and comfortable situation. All the clothing wanted is what decency requires, and it is not necessary to turn up the earth more than from the depth of 2 or 3 inches with a slight hoe, in order to cultivate any kind of grain.

SCHEDULE.

SCHEDULE.—Provisions as in page 4. Tools and utensils, value 19s. 2d., for each person.

The adventurers on this new establishment will be under the care of a Physician, who has had 4 years' practice on the Coast of Africa, and as many in the West Indies. He is qualified from his knowledge of the country and of the disorders that generally prevail there, to afford them much valuable information.

And whereas many Black persons and People of Colour, refugees from America, disbanded from His Majesty's Service by sea or land, or otherwise distinguished objects of British humanity, are in the greatest distress, they are invited to avail themselves of the advantages of the place proposed.

An opportunity so advantageous may, perhaps, never be offered to them again; for they and their posterity may enjoy perfect freedom. Settled in a country congenial to their constitutions, and having the means by moderate labour of the most comfortable livelihood, they will find a certain and secure retreat from their former sufferings.

APPENDIX B.

TREATY No. 1 OF 22ND AUGUST, 1788.

Know all men by these presents that I, King Naimbanna, Chief of Sierra Leone, on the Grain Coast of Africa, by and with the consent of the other Kings, Princes, Chiefs, and Potentates subscribing hereto, in consideration of the presents, as by a list annexed, now made me by Captain John Taylor, of His Britannic Majesty's brig "Miro," in behalf of and for the sole benefit of the free community of settlers, their heirs and successors, lately arrived from England, and under the protection of the British Government, have granted, and by these presents do grant and for ever quit claim to certain district of land for the settling of the said free community, to be theirs, their heirs, and successors for ever; that is to say, all the land, wood, water, etc., etc., which are now contained from the bay commonly called Frenchman's Bay, but by these presents changed to St. George's Bay, coastwise up the river Sierra Leone to Gambia Island, and southerly or inland from the river side twenty miles. And further be it known unto all men that I, King Naimbanna, do faithfully promise and swear for my Chiefs, gentlemen, and people, likewise my heirs and successors, that I will bear true allegiance to His Most Gracious Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, etc., etc., etc., and protect the said free settlers, His subjects, to the utmost of my power, against the insurrections and attacks of all nations or people whatever. And I do hereby bind myself, my heirs, and successors, to grant the said free settlers a continuance of a quiet and peaceable possession of the land granted, their heirs, and successors for ever. In witness whereof I and my Chiefs have set our hands and seals this 22nd day of August 1788.

And it is also further agreed by the aforesaid contracting parties that the customs payable by vessels anchoring in St. George's Bay shall pay ten bars to the free settlers and subjects of His Britannic Majesty, and the customs paid for watering to be paid to King Naimbanna; his representatives or successors; that is to say, fifteen bars as customary, and if to anchor and not to water, the customs as above to be paid to the free settlers of St. George's Bay as aforesaid.

In witness whereof to this additional part of these presents, and all others contained herein, we have made our marks and signed our names, with our seals affixed, this 22nd day of August, 1788.

John Taylor.	their
Richard Weaver.	King × Naimbanna.
	James × Dowder.
	marks.
Thomas Peall.	Pabongee.
Benjamin Ellett.	Dick Robbin.

ABRAM ELLIOTT GRIFFITH,
Secretary to the King.

A list of the presents given in consideration for completing the purchase of land, etc., hereunder annexed, viz. :—

One embroidered bersode coat, waistcoat, and breeches.
 A crimson satin embroidered waistcoat.
 A lead-coloured satin coat, waistcoat and breeches.
 A mock diamond ring.
 Two pairs of pistols.
 One telescope.
 Two pairs of gold ear-rings, with necklaces and drops.
 Eight dozen bottles of wine.
 One puncheon of rum.
 A tierce or three hundredweight of pork.
 One box of smoking pipes.
 Seven muskets.
 Twenty pounds of tobacco.
 One piece of fine white cotton or calico.
 Ten pounds of beads in lots.
 Two cheeses weighing twenty-eight pounds.
 Two hundred gun flints.
 One dozen bottles of red port wine.

APPENDIX C.

Estimate of the charge of defraying the Civil Establishment of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the year 1809, as voted by Parliament.

	£
Governor ..	2,000
Chief Justice and First in Council, and Judge of the Admiralty	1,600
Second in Council	400
Third in Council	400
Secretary	300
Assistant-Secretary and Accountant	250
Ten Writers at £150 each	1,500
Printer	100
Surveyor	100
Registrar	100
Storekeeper	200
First Surgeon	350
Second Surgeon	300
Apothecary	150
Chaplain	300
Six Teachers, Male and Female	300
Botanist and Mineralogist	300
Gardener or Planter	150
Mayor	50
Three Aldermen, at £30 each	90
Clerk of the Mayor's Court	20
Clerk of the Crown	30
Coroner	20
Sheriff	30
Gaoler	20
Engineer	400
Assistant-Engineer	200
Two Principal Masons, at £200 each	400
Two Principal Carpenters, at £200 each	400
A Principal Blacksmith	200
Port Adjutant	100
For defraying the expenses of Commission of Inquiry	5,000
For defraying the expenses of a Patent under the Great Seal for revoking the Charter of the Sierra Leone Company, etc.	1,200
Allowance on account of Fees for the Receipt and Audit	300
Agent	200
Total, £	17,380

APPENDIX D.

List of Territorial Treaties of the Government of Sierra Leone with the Native Chiefs from 1788 to 1883.

Date	Country	Governor	Native Chiefs
22 Aug. 1788	Frenchman's Bay to Gambia Island	Capt. J. Taylor	King Naimbanpa
10 July, 1807	King Tom's Point	T. Ludlam	King Firama and King Tom
6 July, 1818	Isles de Los	C. MacCarthy	King Munge Demba
25 May, 1819	Mar Porto and Ro Bomp	C. MacCarthy	Pa London or Ka Conko
21 July, 1820	The Banana Islands	C. MacCarthy	Pa London or Ka Conko and Thomas Caulker
20 Oct. 1820	Ditto	A. Grant	Thomas Caulker and George S. Caulker
2 Aug. 1824	Banco, Tasso and Tombo Islands, and one mile north bank of river	D. M. Hamilton	King Bey Mauro
24 Sept. 1826	Southern bank of Camarancia to the Gallinas River	C. Turner	King Banka
12 Dec. 1826	Bacca-Loco or Porto Lokkoh	C. Turner	Chief Caremo
18 April, 1828	Conta to Ferighna and Island of Matacong	K. Macaulay	Alimami Dalla Mohamed
8 Mar. 1827	Kaffu Bullom	N. Campbell	Bey Sherbro
24 June, 1827	Island of Bulama	N. Campbell	King Benagre
29 Nov. 1827	Loco Marsamah, one quarter mile inland	N. W. Macdonald	Ba Mauro
20 Nov. 1827	Kaffu Bullom, one quarter mile inland	N. W. Macdonald	Bey Sherbro
2 April, 1861	Quiah, portion of	S. J. Hill	Bey Cantah
9 Nov. 1861	Bagru, Manoh Bagru and Baleh	S. J. Hill	Se Loko
9 Nov. 1861	Sherbro & Turtle Islands	S. J. Hill	Banah Boom
9 Nov. 1861	Bendoo and Chah	S. J. Hill	T. S. Caulker
29 Jan. 1872	Quiah, Retrocession portion of	J. J. Kendall	Bey Cantah
2 May, 1877	Samo Bullom	H. J. Huggins	Ber Sherbro
30 Mar. 1882	Gallinas, half-mile inland	A. E. Havelock	King Jaah
18 Nov. 1882	Bullom and Shebar	A. E. Havelock	Chiefs Tucker
5 June, 1883	Krim, portion of	F. F. Pinkett	Queen Messah
21 Oct. 1883	Krim, portion of	A. E. Havelock	Chiefs Zorokong & Fahwoondoo

APPENDIX E.

SUMMARY OF LEADING EVENTS IN THE COLONY OF
SIERRA LEONE, 1787 TO 1900.

1787. Arrival in Sierra Leone of the First Settlers from England, 60 Europeans and 411 Negroes, under convoy of the "Nautilus," sloop of war, Captain Thompson, Royal Navy; and a grant of land obtained from King Tom for the settlers.
1788. The grant of land by King Tom in 1787, confirmed by King Naimbanna.
The brig "Myro" from England, with 39 persons, chiefly Europeans, for the Colony, and a supply of necessaries for the settlers.
1789. The settlers attacked by Timinis and their town burnt.
1791. The settlers collected by Mr. Falconbridge, and located at Granville Town.
King Naimbanna's son goes to England with Mr. Falconbridge.
Charter granted to the Sierra Leone Company to establish a settlement for freed Negro slaves, and the King granted to the Company the lands purchased from the native Chiefs.
1792. Arrival in Sierra Leone of 119 Europeans from England; also 1,131 Negroes from Nova Scotia, conducted by Lieut. Clarkson, Royal Navy, who was appointed Governor of the Colony.
The newcomers' town was named Freetown.
The old settlers at Granville Town invited to come under the protection of the Sierra Leone Company at Freetown.
Departure from the Colony of Governor Clarkson at the end of the year.
1793. Insurrection of the Nova Scotians.
Colony attacked by French Squadron.
1799. Insurrection of the Nova Scotians.
By Charter, a grant of the peninsula was made to the Sierra Leone Company.
1800. Arrival of 550 Maroons in the Colony from Nova Scotia.
1801. Colony attacked by Timinis.
1802. Colony attacked by Timinis a second time.
1804. Church Missionary Society's first missionaries arrived in Sierra Leone.
1807. Territory westward of Freetown ceded to Sierra Leone Company.
Act passed transferring rights of Sierra Leone Company to the Crown.
1808. Possessions of Sierra Leone Company transferred to the Crown.
Arrival of Governor Thompson, the first Governor appointed by the Crown.
1809. Leicester, the first village for Liberated Africans, formed
1811. Census of Freetown taken—population, 1,900.
Arrival of first Chief Justice of the Colony.
Arrival of the first Wesleyan missionary from Europe.
Wilberforce village formed.

- 1812. Regent and Kissy villages formed.
- 1814. Arrival of Governor MacCarthy.
- 1816. Gloucester village formed.
- 1817. The Colony divided into parishes.
Leopold village formed.
- 1818. The Isles de Los ceded to Great Britain.
Bathurst and Charlotte villages formed.
- 1819. Arrival of 85 men from Barbadoes.
Kent, York, Wellington, and Hastings villages formed.
Arrival of discharged soldiers 4th West India Regiment
Three companies of Royal African Corps disbanded.
West India troops first arrive in Colony.
Maporto and Robump (now Waterloo and Hastings)
ceded.
- 1820. The Banana Islands ceded to Great Britain.
Emigrants arrive from America for Liberia.
- 1822. Lieut. Laing's mission to the Mandingo country.
- 1824. Governor MacCarthy killed by Ashantis.
Bance and other islands ceded to Great Britain.
- 1825. Sherbro (Turner's peninsula) ceded to Great Britain.
Bacoo Loo or Porto Lokkoh ceded to Great Britain.
Island of Matabele ceded to Great Britain.
- 1826. Governor Turner's expedition to Sherbro.
- 1827. The villages formed into Divisions or Districts.
New Settlements formed at Allen Town, Calmont and
Grassfield.
Kaffu Bullom district ceded to Great Britain.
Island of Bulama ceded to Great Britain.
- 1828. St. George's Church opened for Divine Service.
Fourah Bay College for higher education opened.
- 1832. The Cobolo Expedition, Ribbi River.
- 1836. Government House, Fort Thornton, transferred from the
Ordnance Department to the Colonial Government.
- 1841. The Niger Expedition arrived in Freetown.
- 1845. The Grammar School at Regent Square, Freetown, opened.
The Female Institution at Regent Village opened.
- 1847. Loco Marsamah and Kaffu Bullom ceded to Great Britain
- 1852. The first mail steamer from England arrived in the Colony.
The first Bishop of Sierra Leone arrived in the Colony.
- 1854-5. Expedition to Malageah.
- 1858-9. Expedition up the Great Skardies River.
- 1860. Prince Alfred landed at Sierra Leone.
- 1861. Establishment of the Native Church Pastorate.
The Quiah War—the Sierra Leone Militia employed.
Portion of Quiah country ceded to Great Britain.
The Sherbro country ceded to Great Britain.
The Native Church Pastorate established.
- 1863. Charter establishing Executive and Legislative Councils.
Catholic Missions established in the Colony.
- 1865. The first Industrial Exhibition in Freetown.
- 1872. Doctor Blyden's mission to Falaba.
Retrocession of portion of British Quiah.
- 1873. Doctor Blyden's mission to Timbo.
- 1874. Wesleyan High School for Boys opened in Freetown.
- 1875. Disturbances in Sherbro—Governor Rowe's expedition.

1882. The Board of Education established.
The Gallinas territory ceded to Great Britain.
Convention concluded between Great Britain and France
re Northern rivers.
The Island of Matabong recognised as belonging to France
1883. Disturbances in Sherbro—Administrator Pinkett's expedition.
The Krim country ceded to Great Britain.
1884. War in the Gallinas country.
1885. Yonni raid at Songo Town.
1886. Telegraphic communication with Europe.
1887. Jubilee and Centenary celebrations in Freetown.
The Wilberforce Memorial Hall opened.
Yonni War—capture of Robari.
1888. Major Festing's mission to Almami Samodu, King of the Sofas.
Sierra Leone constituted a distinct colony.
Disturbances in Krim country—Governor Hay's expedition.
1889. Arrangements between Great Britain and France re territory to the north of Sierra Leone.
1890. The Frontier Police Force established.
Local Mail Service established, and Steamer Service to Sherbro.
Jurisdiction over Imperri country.
- 1891-2. Expeditions to Tambi—Military and Police.
1893. Freetown created a municipal city.
British sovereignty asserted over Porto Lokkoh.
The Small Skarries country placed under Great Britain.
Expedition against the Sofas under Colonel Ellis.
- 1894-5-6. Governor Cardew's extensive tours to the interior.
1896. The Sierra Leone Protectorate proclaimed.
1897. The Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrated in Freetown.
1898. Insurrection in the Protectorate re House Tax.
A West African Regiment formed in Sierra Leone.
1899. Sierra Leone Government Railway opened.
Mohammedan School at Foulah Town opened.
1900. Sir C. A. King-Harman assumes the government.

APPENDIX F.

THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE.
LIST OF GOVERNORS FROM 1792 TO 1900.

Year	Names	Remarks
1792	<i>The Sierra Leone Company</i>	The deaths of those only who died in Africa or on the passage home are recorded.
1792-3	Clarkson, John, Lieutenant Royal Navy	
1794-5	Dawes, William, Lieutenant Royal Marines	
1795-6	Macaulay, Zachary	
1796-8	Dawes, William	
1796	Macaulay, Zachary	
1799	Gray, John	
	Ludlam, Thomas	
1800	Gray, John	
1801-3	Dawes, William	
1803	Day, William, Captain Royal Navy	
1803-5	Ludlam, Thomas	
1805	Day, William	
1805-8	Ludlam, Thomas	

SINCE THE TRANSFER OF THE COLONY TO THE CROWN.

Year	Governors	Acting Governors	Remarks
1808	Thompson, T. P. (Lieutenant, h. p.) Columbine, E. H. (Captain, R. N.)	Ludlam, Thomas	Died 1811, on passage to Europe
1808-10			
1810-11		Bones, R. (Lieut. R.N.)	
1811	Maxwell, C.W. (Lieut.- Colonel) MacCarthy, Sir Chas., (Colonel)		
1811-14			
1814-24			Killed 1824, at the Gold Coast
1814-15		Maling, Major (O. C. Troops)	Died 1815, at Sierra Leone
1815		Purdie, R., Doctor (Col. Secretary)	Died 1815, on passage to Europe
"		Appleton, Major (O. C. Troops)	
"		Hyde, Captain (O. C. Troops)	
1820-21		Grant, Captain (O. C. Troops)	
1821		Burke, Lt.-Col. (O. C. Troops)	
"		Grant, Captain (O. C. Troops)	
1824-25	Turner, Sir Charles, C.B. (Major-General)	Hamilton, D.M. (King's Advocate)	Died 1826, at Sierra Leone
1825-26			Died 1826, at Sierra Leone
1826		Macaulay, K. (Mem. Council)	Died 1826, at Sierra Leone
"		Smart, S. (King's Ad- vocate)	
1827-27			Died 1827, at Sierra Leone
1828-27	Campbell, Sir Neil, C.B. (Major-General)	Lumley, Lieut. - Col. (O. C. Troops)	
1828			Died 1828, at Sierra Leone
"		Lumley, Lieut. - Col. (O. C. Troops)	Died 1828, at Sierra Leone
"		Smart, S. (King's Ad- vocate)	
1828-29		Riokotts, Major (O. C. Troops)	
1829-30		Evans, Captain (O. C. Troops)	
1830		Fraser, Captain (O. C. Troops)	
1830-33			
1833		Melville, M. L. (King's Advocate)	
1833-34			Died 1834, at Sierra Leone
1834-35	Temple, O. (Major)	Cole, T. (Colonial Sec.)	
1835-37			
1837			
1837-40	Campbell, H. D. (Major)	Cole, T. (Colonial Sec.)	
1837-40			
1840-41	Doherty, R. (Lieut.- Colonel)		
1840-41	Jeremie, Sir John, Kt.		Died 1841, at Sierra Leone
1841		Carr, J. (Queen's Ad- vocate)	

SINCE THE TRANSFER OF THE COLONY TO THE CROWN—*continued.*

Year	Governors	Acting Governors	Remarks
1841-42	Macdonald, G. (Col.)	Fergusson, W. (Lieut.-Governor)	Died 1848, on passage to Europe
1842-44 1844		Fergusson, W. (Lieut.-Governor)	
1844-45		Macdonald, N. W. (Lieut.-Governor)	
1845-46	Macdonald, N. W.	Pine, R. C. C. (Queen's Advocate)	
1846-52 1848-49		Dougan, R. (Queen's Advocate)	
1852-54 1854	Kennedy, A. E. (Capt.)	Dougan, R. (Queen's Advocate)	Died 1871, at Sierra Leone
1854-62 1855	Hill, S. J. (Colonel)	Dougan, R. (Queen's Advocate)	
1859-60		Fitzjames, A. (Queen's Advocate)	
1861		Hill, Major (O. C. Troops)	
"		Smith, Lt.-Col. (O. C. Troops)	
"		Hill, Major (O. C. Troops)	
1862		Hill, Lieut.-Col. (O. C. Troops)	
1862-68 1865-68	Blackall, S. W. (Maj.)	Chamberlayne, Col. (O. C. Troops)	
1867		Yonge, Colonel (O. C. Troops)	
1868-72	Kennedy, Sir Arthur, C.B.	Kendall, J. J. (Col. Secretary)	
1869		Kendall, J. J. (Col. Secretary)	
1871		Sheppard, Capt. (O. C. Troops)	
"		Kendall, J. J. (Col. Secretary)	
1872	Honneseey, J. P., C.M.G.	Kendall, J. J. (Col. Secretary)	
1872-73 1872		Kendall, J. J. (Col. Secretary)	
1873	Keate, R. W.	Bravo, Major (O. C. Troops)	Died 1873, at Cape Coast Castle
"		Harley, Colonel (O. C. Troops)	
"		French, G. (Chief Justice)	
1873-74 1874-75	Berkeley, G.	Rowe, S., C.M.G. (Administrator)	
1875-77 1875-76	Kortright, C. H.	Huggins, H. J. (Chief Justice)	
1877		Streeten W. W. (Chief Justice)	
"	Rowe, Sir Samuel, K.C.M.G.		
1880-81			

SINCE THE TRANSFER OF THE COLONY TO THE CROWN—*continued.*

Year	Governors	Acting Governors	Remarks
1881		Pinkett, F. F. (Acting Chief Justice)	
1881-84	Havelock, Capt. A. E., C.M.G.		
1883		Pinkett, F. F. (Chief Justice)	
1884		Tarleton, A. M. (Acting Chief Justice)	Died 1884, on passage to Europe
1884-85		Pinkett, F. F. (Chief Justice)	Died 1887, at Sierra Leone
1885-88	Rowe, Sir Samuel, K.C.M.G.		Died 1888, at Madeira
1886-87		Hay, J. S., C.M.G. (Administrator)	
1888		Maltby, Lt.-Col. (O. C. Troops)	
1888-91	Hay, Sir Jas., K.C.M.G. (Captain)		
1889		Patchett, Lt.-Col. (O. C. Troops)	
"		Foster, Major (O. C. Troops)	
1889-90		Maltby, Lt.-Col. (O. C. Troops)	
1891-92		Crooks, J. J. (Col. Sec.)	
1892		Jones, Sir W. H. Q. (Chief Justice)	
1892-94	Fleming, Sir Francis, K.C.M.G.		
1893		Crooks, J. J. (Col. Sec.)	
1894		Crooks, J. J. (Col. Sec.)	
1894-1900	Cardew, Sir Frederic, K.C.M.G. (Colonel)		
1895		Caulfield, Lt.-Col. (O. C. Troops)	
1897		Caulfield, Lt.-Col. (O. C. Troops)	
"		Gore, J. O. (Col. Sec.)	
1899		Nathan, Major N., C.M.G. (R. Engineers)	
1900		Caulfield, Col. (O. C. Troops)	
"	King-Harman, Sir A. C., K.C.M.G.		

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